

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>



English-Medium Instruction in French Higher Education Competing Ideologies, Policies and Practices

Blattes, Marianne

Awarding institution:
King's College London

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International licence. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

You are free to:

- Share: to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

English-Medium Instruction in French Higher Education

Competing Ideologies, Policies and Practices

Marianne Blattès

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

School of Education, Communication and Society

Faculty of Social Science and Public Policy

King's College London

January 2018

To my parents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my immense gratitude to Professor Constant Leung and Dr Simon Coffey for guiding me throughout the years and for their invaluable comments. It has been a privilege to work with them. I would also like to thank Professor Meg Maguire for her continuous support and words of encouragement.

A special thank you to all my research participants and to Minister Geneviève Fioraso for her precious time. Many thanks to my dear friend Samar for supporting me along the way and to all my PhD friends from G-10 who made the PhD journey much more enjoyable. To Anne-Mette, Reema, Munirah, Cedric, Kelvin and Raymund for all the great memories. To Patricia, for your endless moral support.

I cannot thank my parents enough for their patience, unconditional love and support. Thank you for always being there, believing in me and pushing me to persevere in times of difficulty.

Finally, I am grateful for the grant that I received from the International Research Foundation (TIRF).

ABSTRACT

Over the past decade there has been an exponential rise in the number of courses being delivered in English across Europe making English-medium instruction (EMI) a particularly significant area of research in European higher education (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013). Few studies, however, have examined EMI in France because it is a comparatively recent phenomenon. This thesis aims to provide insight into the ongoing exploration of EMI by investigating it within the French context.

In July 2013, Article 2 of the Fioraso Law was introduced making it easier for French universities to deliver courses in English (which was, in theory, illegal under the 1994 Toubon Law). The decision to depart from the traditional French-only model was highly controversial and sparked widespread protests and debates. Using Article 2 as the starting point for the research, the overall aim of the thesis is to examine the policy trajectory of Article 2 and how it has been recontextualised within a specific institutional setting. Following the “ethnography of language policy” (Johnson 2013), this study explores how policy texts and related discourses move through national, institutional and local levels. Ultimately, the goal is to understand how Article 2 (and by extension EMI) is interpreted and enacted “on the ground”. This study focuses on a public French university which primarily specialises in sciences.

The thesis comprises three main data sets: official language policy documents (parliamentary debates and four versions of Article 2), interviews (with 8 EMI teachers and 2 university administrators) and EMI classroom observation (14 hours). It emerges that EMI is an extremely sensitive topic at the national level whereas it is more readily accepted within the university context. Taking a discourse-oriented ethnographic approach, this research examines the way in which policy actors understand and engage with EMI at different levels. The findings reveal that EMI is naturalised in the university context, while in Parliament it is instrumentalised for political purposes. By investigating how EMI takes on significantly different meanings across various settings, this study contributes to the field of language policy and planning as well as the research on EMI.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
ABSTRACT	4
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	12
1.1 Overview of the study	12
1.2 Research aim and research questions	13
1.3 Background to the research	13
1.3.1 What is EMI?.....	13
1.3.2 A picture of EMI in numbers	16
1.4 “Englishisation” or “internationalisation”?	17
1.4.1 Drivers of EMI in Europe.....	17
1.4.1.1 Erasmus	19
1.4.1.2 The Bologna Process	19
1.4.1.3 Attracting international students: a money-making business.....	20
1.5 Research on EMI in Europe	21
1.6 Research on EMI in France.....	24
1.7 Outline of chapters	26
Chapter 2 Language policy in the French context	27
2.1 Introduction	27
2.2 From the Enlightenment to the Revolution.....	27
2.2.1 The “Académie Française”.....	27
2.2.2 The building of the nation state: towards linguistic homogeneity	29
2.3 The 19th century: securing the position of French inside and outside of France	30
2.3.1 The Jules Ferry laws.....	30
2.3.2 Prestige and image planning.....	31
2.4 After the Second World War.....	32
2.4.1 Restoring France’s “rayonnement”	32
2.4.2 Monolingualism on the inside, multilingualism on the outside	33
2.5 The Toubon Law (1994)	35
2.6 The 21 st century historical language policy shift	36
2.7 Towards a definition of language policy.....	38
2.7.1 A brief history of language policy definitions.....	38
2.7.2 Towards a definition of language policy for my research.....	42
2.8 Summary	45

Chapter 3 Theoretical framework and research methodology	46
3.1 Introduction	46
3.2 Applying a language policy framework to the study of EMI.....	46
3.2.1 Moving beyond linguistic imperialism.....	46
3.2.2 Policy as a multi-layered process	50
3.2.3 Policy creation, interpretation and appropriation	52
3.3 An “ethnography of language policy”	54
3.3.1 Ethnography or ethnographic perspective?	55
3.3.2 Marrying power and agency	58
3.4 Combining concepts of CDA with the “ethnography of language policy”	59
3.4.1 Discourse as a social practice	60
3.4.2 Ideology	61
3.4.3 Intertextual chains	62
3.4.4 Recontextualisation	63
3.5 The Discourse-Historical Approach.....	65
3.6 Summary	67
Chapter 4 Research design and analytical framework.....	68
4.1 Introduction	68
4.2 An “ethnographic” case study design	68
4.2.1 Selecting the case and “units of analysis”	68
4.2.2 Data collection process and methods	70
4.2.2.1 Phase 1: “Examining” official policy texts online	71
4.2.2.2 Phase 2: “Enquiring” with interviews	71
4.2.2.3 Phase 3: “Experiencing” with non-participant observation	75
4.2.2.4 Background data.....	76
4.2.3 Research site: Université Joseph Fourier	77
4.2.4 My position in the research	78
4.3 Analytical framework.....	78
4.3.1 Working from transcripts	80
4.3.1.1 Official transcript of the parliamentary debates	80
4.3.1.2 Interview transcripts	81
4.3.1.3 Translation.....	82
4.3.2 Thematic identification.....	83
4.3.2.1 The coding process	83
4.3.2.2 Initial coding and reviewing.....	83
4.3.2.3 “Coding the codes” and deriving categories	85
4.3.2.4 Searching for themes	85

4.3.2.5 Defining themes	86
4.3.3 Discursive strategies	88
4.3.4 The interactional nature of parliamentary debates	90
4.3.5 Contextualising the interview data	91
4.3.6 Observation	92
4.3.7 Making connections across data sets	94
4.3.7.1 Intertextual and interdiscursive analysis	94
4.4 Ethical considerations	95
4.5 Summary	95
Chapter 5 From parliamentary debates to policy texts.....	97
5.1 Introduction	97
5.2 Thematic findings.....	97
5.2.1 Theme 1: EMI for attracting international students	98
5.2.1.1 The economic rationale	98
5.2.1.2 The topos of “linguistic barrier”	101
5.2.2 Theme 2: EMI for the promotion of “Francophonie”	105
5.2.2.1 The topos of “ambassadors”	105
5.2.2.2 The impact of the law: diverging interpretations	108
5.2.2.3 Revisiting the principles of “Francophonie”	110
5.2.2.4 Francophonie and worldviews	114
5.2.3 Theme 3: EMI as a tool for democratisation	117
5.2.3.1 The topos of “democratic right”	117
5.2.3.2 The topos of “English language acquisition”	119
5.2.4 The ideological configuration of EMI.....	121
5.3 The textual transformations of Article 2	122
5.4 Mismatch between policy text and parliamentary debates	124
5.5 Summary	127
Chapter 6 A local understanding of EMI	131
6.1 Introduction	131
6.2 Taking the EMI plunge: sink or swim	131
6.2.1 “In science it’s English”	131
6.3 EMI is not a problem (or is it?)	136
6.3.1 “We don’t speak English, we speak Globish”	136
6.3.2 “We’re not all pros in English...”	139
6.3.3 “University recommends B2, I don’t care about that”	144
6.4 The ideal EMI	146
6.4.1 “Exclusively in English”	147

6.5 The difference between “programmes in English” and “international programmes”	151
6.6 EMI and university selection	153
6.7 Summary	156
Chapter 7 Inside the EMI classroom.....	158
7.1 Introduction	158
7.2 Language patterns in the EMI classroom.....	159
7.2.1 When English is used	159
7.2.1.1 When teachers use English.....	159
7.2.1.2 When students use English.....	161
7.2.2 When French is used	162
7.2.2.1 When teachers use French.....	162
7.2.2.2 When students use French.....	163
7.3 The EMI stage	165
7.3.1 Staging languages.....	166
7.3.2 Language stage directors	168
7.3.3 The spectator researcher	172
7.4 The “safe” performance	174
7.4.1 The passive spectators	174
7.4.2 The “safe” lecture space	177
7.4.3 Safe scientific talk	180
7.4.4 Moving in and out of the safe space.....	182
7.5 Summary	187
Chapter 8 Connecting discourses across policy layers	189
8.1 Introduction	189
8.2 The demise of “Francophonie” and the rise of “rayonnement”	190
8.2.1 The Francophonie debate eclipsed	190
8.2.2 From cultural “rayonnement” to institutional “rayonnement”	192
8.2.3 French language reimagined as a marketing tool	195
8.3 The “attractiveness” ripple effect.....	196
8.3.1 The buzzword: “attractivité”	197
8.3.2 The international student obsession: attracting the “best”	200
8.3.3 French as a barrier and English as an opening	202
8.3.4 EMI as a marketing tool: 100% in English	205
8.4 From “democratisation” to “excellence”	207
8.4.1 Traces of democratisation discourses.....	207
8.4.2 The silencing of “democratisation” and the focus on “excellence”	209

8.4.3 From EMI to international programmes	210
8.4.4 The focus on English language “skills”	212
8.5 Summary	214
Chapter 9 Discussion	216
9.1 Introduction	216
9.2 The politicisation of EMI	217
9.2.1 Popular representations of EMI in the media	217
9.2.2 Political representations of EMI	220
9.2.3 EMI and populism	225
9.3 Problematising EMI in the university context	228
9.3.1 The naturalisation of EMI in the university context	228
9.3.2 A need for greater EMI awareness	231
9.4 Parallel policy processes	238
9.5 Summary	243
Chapter 10 Conclusion	245
10.1 Introduction	245
10.2 Contribution to knowledge	245
10.3 Limitations	247
10.4 Future research directions	248
10.5 Final remarks	249
APPENDICES	251
Bibliography	341

List of tables

<i>Table 1.</i> Data collection phases.....	70
<i>Table 2.</i> List of participants and their first language	73
<i>Table 3.</i> Interviews with teachers and university administrators	73
<i>Table 4.</i> Classroom observations	76
<i>Table 5.</i> Analytical framework	79
<i>Table 6.</i> Transcription conventions.....	82
<i>Table 7.</i> Examples of coding.....	84
<i>Table 8.</i> Examples of discursive strategies	89
<i>Table 9.</i> Examples of predication strategies regarding the Toubon Law.....	125
<i>Table 10.</i> Evolution of Article 2	129
<i>Table 11.</i> EMI variations.....	147
<i>Table 12.</i> Classroom observation details	159
<i>Table 13.</i> Language use in the EMI classroom	164
<i>Table 14.</i> Examples of premises in argumentation	225
<i>Table 15.</i> Variables affecting the EMI classroom.....	238

List of figures

<i>Figure 1.</i> The embedded case study design	70
<i>Figure 2.</i> The ideological configuration of EMI.....	121
<i>Figure 3.</i> Textual transformations of Article 2	123

List of abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
CM	Cours magistral (Lecture)
CM-TD	Cours magistral-Travaux dirigés (part lecture, part seminar)
DHA	Discourse-historical approach
EMI	English-medium instruction
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IMF	International Monetary Fund
L1, L2, L3	Licence 1, 2, 3. (i.e. first, second or third year of an undergraduate degree in France)
LPP	Language Policy and Planning
MP	Member of Parliament
M1, M2	Master 1, 2. (i.e. first or second year of a Master's degree)
OIF	Organisation internationale de la Francophonie
UJF	Université Joseph Fourier
VPIR	Vice President of International Relations
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TD	Travaux dirigés (i.e. seminar)

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview of the study

Over the past decade there has been a growing interest in the spread of English-medium instruction (henceforth EMI) at university level in traditionally non-Anglophone speaking European countries. While EMI is far more established in so-called “northern” Europe, it is slowly gaining ground in “southern” European countries. Very few studies have examined EMI in France because it is a comparatively recent phenomenon.

Although EMI courses have existed for over two decades in France’s prestigious higher education institutions known as the “Grandes Ecoles”, the practice is much less prevalent in French public universities. In fact, university programmes which are entirely taught in English remain uncommon and almost non-existent at undergraduate level (Campus France 2013).

My goal is to provide insight into the EMI phenomenon by exploring it within the French context. In July 2013, Article 2 of the Fioraso Law was introduced making it easier to deliver courses in English in French universities (which was, in theory, illegal under the Toubon Law of 1994).¹ This historical (albeit largely symbolic) decision to depart from the traditional French-only model was highly controversial and sparked widespread debates and protests. Using Article 2 as the starting point of my research, I aim to explore how it has been recontextualised within a specific institutional setting. My research site was the Université Joseph Fourier (UJF) in Grenoble (France), which specialises in sciences, health and technology. I conducted an empirical study in order to understand how Article 2 (and by extension EMI) is interpreted and enacted “on the ground”. I show how this involves complex processes of policy creation, interpretation and appropriation.

¹ Jacques Toubon was Minister of Culture and Francophonie in the government of Edouard Balladur from 1993 to 1995 under the presidency of François Mitterrand. Geneviève Fioraso was Minister for Higher Education and Research in the government of Jean-Marc Ayrault from 2012 to 2015 under the presidency of François Hollande.

1.2 Research aim and research questions

The overall aim of my research is to examine the trajectory of Article 2 and how it has been understood in different policy contexts. In other words, my study explores how policy texts and related discourses move through national, institutional and local levels. By the time a policy reaches the classroom, the language practices can be very different from those intended at the start, creating a gap between policy and practice. By bringing together a macro-level analysis of language policy and a micro-level investigation which takes into account people's perceptions, experiences and practices, I provide a holistic understanding of the relationship between policy documents, institutional interpretations and classroom practices.

My research questions are thus organised to capture how policies move through different policy layers. Research question 1 deals with "official" language policy texts, research question 2 with local policy actors' beliefs about EMI and research question 3 explores what goes on in the EMI classroom:

1. How is Article 2 discursively (co-)constructed and what discourses does it draw on?
2. How do local policy actors understand and interpret EMI?
3. How do the local policy actors enact EMI?

My study aims to contribute to the field of language policy and planning (LPP) and more specifically to the research on EMI by filling in a gap in the literature in terms of the methodological approach and the particular research context.

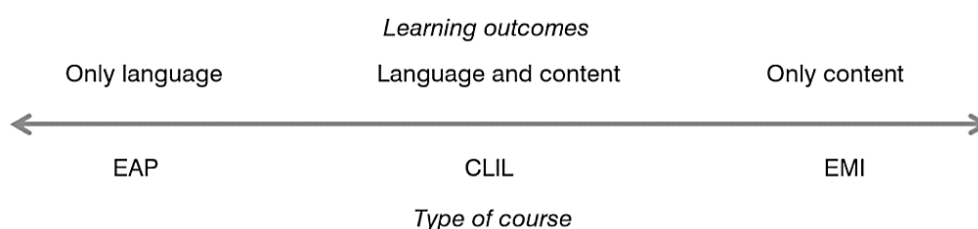
1.3 Background to the research

1.3.1 What is EMI?

In the context of tertiary education, scholars have explored teaching content in a foreign language (in this case English) under a variety of labels such as:

- EMI or English-Medium Instruction (Dimova et al. 2015; Doiz et al. 2012)
- CLIL or Content and Language Integrated Learning (Dalton-Puffer 2011; Smit and Dafouz 2012)
- ICLHE or Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education (Costa and Coleman 2010; Unterberger and Wilhelmer 2011; Wilkinson and Walsh 2015)
- ELFA or English as a Lingua Franca in Academia (Jenkins 2014)

EMI is sometimes used as an umbrella term which encompasses all of the above. In the literature, we find that these acronyms are often used interchangeably even though they have arisen from distinct traditions and schools of thought. Although there is much disagreement regarding definitions, CLIL and ICLHE tend to refer to situations in which there is a dual focus on subject content *and* foreign language learning. Conversely, with EMI, there are usually no explicit language learning aims as such: English language learning is incidental rather than intentional. In other words, in EMI courses the English language holds a vehicular function and is not a subject in itself. For purposes of clarity, Airey (2016: 73) situates EMI and CLIL on a language and content continuum:



While Airey (2016: 73) acknowledges that this analytical division is purely artificial (“it is a fallacy to think that content and language can be separated in this way”), the continuum is nevertheless useful. At one end of the continuum are courses with mainly language learning goals (e.g. English for Academic Purposes), at the other end are courses with mainly content-related learning aims. CLIL courses are situated somewhere in the middle, having both language and content as learning outcomes. EMI, on the other hand, is located on the far end of the content continuum. For Airey (2016: 73), EMI courses have the following characteristics:

[L]anguage is viewed as unproblematic. Such courses have content-related learning outcomes. Language is simply viewed as a tool for teaching that may be substituted by another tool as required—the choice of teaching language is pragmatic and not expected to affect the content taught to any great degree. In such situations, English (if referred to at all in the syllabus) is simply mentioned as the language in which the course is taught.

Although distinctions between CLIL and EMI are far from being clear-cut, it is on the whole assumed that the term CLIL is not appropriate for university settings since the “dual focus” principle is often not applied (Unterberger and Wilhelmer 2011). Furthermore, the motivations behind providing courses in English at university level have little to do with language learning objectives (Coleman 2006). As will be discussed in section 1.4, offering courses in English is most often a way for

universities to attract more international students. Consequently, the CLIL label and its counterpart ICLHE are rarely applicable to university contexts (Airey 2016; Unterberger 2014).

Even though it is generally agreed that EMI courses do not have language learning aims, it is important not to view the definition of EMI as fixed (Macaro 2013). Indeed, Knagg (2013) notes that one of the main fallacies about EMI is that it is monolithic: i.e. that there is just one type of EMI. EMI can in fact take on many different forms depending on the context. Courses may be partly or fully in English, optional or compulsory, selective or non-selective etc. Hence there is still much dispute as to what EMI is and whether or not it can (or should) be defined.

If the English language is simply used as a tool for teaching, it could be argued that English functions as a “lingua franca”. Scholars working under the ELFA paradigm are mostly interested in how non-native speakers of English use English as a shared means of communication. However, it is not the co-construction of meaning and effective communication which are of interest here. Furthermore, even though English may be used as a “lingua franca” in classrooms where there is a high proportion of non-Francophone students, there are also EMI classes which are composed entirely of French speakers. In this respect, English is no longer a common means of communication for speakers of different languages. Smit and Dafouz (2012) suggest that the terminology used should be informed by the research foci. Given that Article 2 is about allowing courses to be taught in languages other than French, it seems appropriate to adopt a label which focuses on the medium of instruction. Hence the term EMI appears to be the most relevant for this study. However, I take EMI in a much broader sense than Airey (2016) to account for all the different possible interpretations of Article 2. For some, teaching in English may include language targets whereas for others it may simply be a way of conveying content material. I thus use the working definition of the Oxford University EMI Research Group:

The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English. (Dearden 2014)

This broad definition is less prescriptive than others which attempt to situate EMI on a spectrum from 100% content-driven to 100% language-driven. Some would argue that EMI can also occur in Anglophone contexts where the majority of speakers do

not have English as their first language. However, for this study, I limit my definition to traditionally non-Anglophone settings.²

1.3.2 A picture of EMI in numbers

The increasing number of English-medium programmes being offered in universities across Europe has been largely documented (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013; Wächter and Maiworm 2008, 2014; Truchot 2013). This practice has become so widespread in some contexts that certain universities teach virtually all their courses in English. Indeed, according to Truchot (2013), between 2008 and 2009, out of the 47 Masters offered at the University of Maastricht, 46 were delivered in English. Brenn-White and Faethe (2013) found that the total number of Master's programmes, taught entirely in English, in Europe, had increased by 42% in a year and a half since 2011. Between 2002 and 2013 they estimate there was an astounding 1047% increase in the total number of EMI programmes (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).

The countries which offered the most English-taught Master's programmes in 2013, in terms of absolute numbers were: the Netherlands (946), Germany (733), Sweden (708), France (494) and Spain (373) (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).³ However, these figures should be handled with caution. These numbers reflect countries with larger populations. In relative terms, the countries which offered the most English-taught programmes at Bachelor and Master's level were: Denmark, the Netherlands, Cyprus, Sweden and Finland (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). While France ranks in the top five in terms of the absolute number of EMI programmes, proportionally, this only represents 3.4% of the total number of programmes on offer (placing it in 18th position out of 22 countries surveyed in Europe, Wächter and Maiworm 2014). The number of students in France enrolled in programmes entirely taught in English in 2013/2014 was 0.7% versus 12.4% in Denmark for instance (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). EMI is therefore proportionally much less established in France than in other countries.

² Throughout the thesis, I use the following expressions interchangeably: EMI courses, courses in English and English-taught courses. However, all terms are used in relation to Dearden's (2014) overarching definition of EMI.

³ Note that these figures are only based on what is announced on StudyPortals.eu. Wächter and Maiworm (2014) remark that figures can vary tremendously as institutions often do not update their programmes online. For instance, while 499 programmes in English are officially announced in France, they estimate that there are in fact 14,500 currently on offer.

It should be noted that, despite the growing popularity of EMI across Europe, there are some significant regional differences. The Nordic region (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) considerably dominates in provision of EMI whereas South West Europe (Spain, France, Italy and Portugal) has by far the lowest numbers. Despite the exponential growth in English-taught programmes, there remains a fairly strong north-south divide in Europe.

Furthermore, courses in English tend to be offered at the Master's level and in PhD awarding universities. While at the Master's level the main reason for delivering English-taught programmes is to attract international students, at the Bachelor's level it is to improve the international competences of domestic students. Other reasons include "sharpening the international profile of the institution" (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). Finally, the highest proportion of EMI courses is to be found in the social sciences, business and law (35%), followed by sciences (23%) and engineering, manufacturing and construction (18%) (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). Keeping these nuances in mind, there has undeniably been a rapid acceleration in the number of English-taught programmes delivered across Europe over the past few years, making it "one of the closest watched trends in European higher education" (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).

1.4 "Englishisation" or "internationalisation"?

1.4.1 Drivers of EMI in Europe

Hultgren et al. (2015: 6) argue that there are different levels of drivers of EMI: global (e.g. General Agreement on Trade and Services), European (e.g. the Bologna Declaration), national (e.g. internationalisation strategies), institutional (e.g. targets to recruit international students) and classroom (e.g. presence of non-local language speakers). For Wilkinson (2012: 3), the expansion of EMI in universities has been driven by "economic, social and political forces, and sometimes even educational". I will not attempt here to list all the possible reasons contributing to the spread of EMI (see Coleman 2006 for a discussion on the "drivers of Englishization"). However, it is interesting to note that Wächter and Maiworm (2014), who surveyed 22 countries in Europe, found that the most common reason for offering EMI courses was the "removal of language obstacles for the enrolment of foreign students: to attract foreign

students who would not enrol in a programme taught in the domestic language”. The fact that this was the most cited reason across all universities is, as we shall see later on, highly significant. Grin (2014: 129) has criticised universities for their “international student obsession”. Similarly, Truchot (2010) notes how universities are now mostly preoccupied with achieving visibility on the world stage. Attracting international students, he argues, is perceived as a key internationalisation strategy, especially as the percentage of international students is a main criterion in world university rankings. Wilkinson (2012) also contends that rankings have accelerated the EMI trend, creating an atmosphere of competition between institutions.

The increase in the number of EMI courses in higher education therefore has to be understood within the dominant narrative of “internationalisation”, where “internationalisation” is defined as “the policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals—to cope with the global academic environment” (Altbach and Knight 2007: 290-291). For Tadaki (2013), “internationalisation has become a mantra in higher education”. Especially since the Bologna Declaration (1999) and the Lisbon Agenda (2000) which aimed to make the EU “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-driven economy by 2010”, universities have been increasingly under pressure to be internationally competitive. In this global competitive market for international students, English is considered to be the most suited medium of instruction for an increasingly linguistically diverse student population. Many universities thus offer English-taught programmes to overcome perceived linguistic “obstacles”. Even though internationalisation strategies vary considerably from one setting to another across Europe, it seems that “internationalisation pervades the policy discourse of higher education” in all countries (Doiz et al. 2011). The belief that EMI is a strategy for achieving “internationalisation” now appears to be so deeply ingrained that, “‘internationalisation’ often results in ‘Englishization’” (Kirkpatrick 2011: 1).

While the Erasmus programme played a major role in laying down the foundations for the EMI trend, the Bologna Process subsequently accelerated and reinforced this process (Truchot 2010). I now move on to briefly discuss how the Erasmus exchange scheme and the Bologna Process are two main catalysts in the “Englishisation” of European universities.

1.4.1.1 Erasmus

According to Teichler (2009: 1), the Erasmus programme played a central role in developing student mobility and was the main trigger for a “qualitative leap of internationalisation strategies and policies since the 1990s”. He argues that the Erasmus scheme led to a shift from a predominantly “vertical mobility” to a more “horizontal mobility” (Teichler 2009: 10). In other words, before, students were, as a rule, expected to adapt to their host countries. This often included adapting to the national language of instruction. However, “Erasmus triggered a re-thinking in higher education” and universities started reconsidering their own practices and accommodating for international students (Teichler 2009: 10). Questions around medium of instruction were raised, especially in countries where the national language is not widely taught in the EU. To overcome language “obstacles”, countries such as Sweden, decided to offer courses in English to attract more international students. The introduction of EMI thus started in the 1990s in Northern Europe (Truchot 2013). This explains why the trend is most dominant in these countries: “Scandinavian countries have switched almost all their postgraduate teaching to English” (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).

However, providing programmes in English to attract international students is becoming a common practice across Europe regardless of whether the national language is widely taught or not. The three most popular destinations for Erasmus students are Spain, France and Germany respectively. Although these three countries have widely spoken and taught languages, they are increasingly offering courses in English. Despite the EU’s commitment to multilingualism, the Erasmus programme has inadvertently led to greater “Englishisation” (Coleman 2012; Erling and Hilgendorf 2006; Truchot 2010, 2013).

1.4.1.2 The Bologna Process

The 1999 Bologna Declaration further accelerated the transformation of higher education in Europe. It was an attempt to establish a more uniform, transparent and attractive system of higher education with the aim of creating a “European Area of Higher Education” (EHEA) by 2010. Wright (2009) argues that striving to make systems more comparable and readable inexorably leads to harmonisation, including

linguistic harmonisation. Officially, the EU promotes multilingualism, but in practice, greater European integration often results in the domination of English. Ironically, as the EU continues to expand, the more countries, “the more languages, the more English” (de Swaan 2001: 182). Similarly, Phillipson (2009: 37) concludes that “what emerges unambiguously is that in the Bologna Process, internationalisation means English-medium higher education”.

While mobility through the Erasmus programme requires host institutions not to charge tuition fees, in the Bologna context, universities are allowed to charge non-EU students international fees. This is certainly a compelling reason for some universities to push for attracting more international students. In a study conducted in Italy and covering 76 different Italian universities, Costa and Coleman (2013) found that the reasons for introducing English-taught programmes were largely economic rather than didactic or cultural. Wilkinson (2012) also highlights the financial incentives for offering EMI programmes at the University of Maastricht. The economic motivations underpinning EMI should therefore not be underestimated. In France, however, overseas students pay the same fees as home students (only 184 euros per year for an undergraduate and 256 euros for a postgraduate in public universities⁴). Although the fees may seem minimal, it would be naïve to assume that there are no economic reasons behind attracting international students in France.

1.4.1.3 Attracting international students: a money-making business

Interestingly, although the two most popular destinations for international students are the UK and the US, France is now ranked in front of Australia as the third most attractive country for international students and as the top non-English speaking destination in the world (UNESCO 2013). According to a 2014 study by Campus France, international students represent a €1.6 billion revenue each year for the French state (through living expenses—accommodation, travel, food, clothing, entertainment; families coming to visit; flights through French travel operators etc.). This does not compare with UK figures where non-EU students contributed more than £7 billion to the UK economy and paid £3.5 billion in tuition fees in 2011-2012 (UK Universities

⁴ <http://www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/cid20195/frais-inscription-pour-rentree-universitaire-2015.html>

2014). Nevertheless, there are also indirect benefits of attracting international students which include expanding political and diplomatic influence, strengthening relationships, building strategic partnerships and cultural links. Having studied in France, international students are more likely to maintain ties with France thus increasing economic business opportunities. This is why EMI is often presented as an imperious necessity to engage with the global economy.

1.5 Research on EMI in Europe

The literature on EMI is vast as it draws from an array of disciplines ranging from applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, education and ELT (English language teaching), just to name a few (Dimova et al. 2015). Furthermore, EMI has been studied at different levels (from a global, national, institutional, classroom and individual perspective). For example, scholars have explored:

- the impact of EMI on teaching and learning
- the impact of EMI on other languages (in terms of domain loss or impact on linguistic ecologies)
- the impact of EMI on linguistic groups (e.g. linguistic minorities)
- EMI policies (national and institutional)
- students and teachers' proficiency in English
- the spread of EMI (in descriptive terms—e.g. documenting the increasing number of English-taught programmes across national and global contexts)
- the motives for implementing EMI
- the language(s) used in the EMI classroom (e.g. the different linguistic resources, instances of translanguaging, code-switching etc.)
- students and teachers' attitudes and beliefs about EMI

Hence the EMI phenomenon has been analysed from numerous different angles (empirical, pedagogical, sociological, political etc.) and with various methods (questionnaires, surveys, interviews, classroom observation etc.).

Yet the vast majority of studies have investigated teachers' (and to a lesser extent students') attitudes towards EMI (Dimova et al. 2015; Doiz et al. 2012; Kuteeva and Airey 2014; Tange 2010). While attitudes are complex and often ambivalent, on the whole, many studies report positive attitudes towards EMI (Bolton and Kuteeva 2012;

Costa and Coleman 2013; Jensen et al. 2009; Knapp 2011; Lasagabaster 2015; Saarinen and Nikula 2012). Hultgren et al. (2015) observe that EMI has been implemented without much resistance in Nordic countries, whereas in some parts of Europe, such as Italy, EMI has met with stronger opposition (Santulli 2015; Pulcini and Campagna 2015). Some contexts are particularly interesting as EMI has been introduced alongside official policies of bilingualism. For example, Doiz et al. (2014) looked at students' attitudes towards Spanish, Basque and English in the Basque Country. Some researchers have also investigated attitudes towards EMI across disciplines. Several studies have reported that teachers in the sciences tend to have more positive attitudes towards English compared to teachers in other disciplines (Bolton and Kuteeva 2012; Kuteeva and Airey 2012; Jensen et al. 2009).

Many highlight the problems and challenges of teaching in English. One recurrent issue is the insufficient command of English by teachers. Teachers often report that they lack fluency in English to provide nuanced, concise and accurate explanations to students (Hellekjaer 2007; Kling 2015; Vinke 1995). They feel restricted in terms of vocabulary and feel less capable of improvising or engaging in spontaneous discussions (Airey 2011; Tange 2010; Wilkinson 2005). As a result, there is often less interaction in EMI classrooms, less student participation, and more communicative problems (Airey and Linder 2006; Airey and Linder 2008; Hellekjaer 2007; Knapp 2011; Tange 2010). In order to compensate for linguistic weaknesses, teachers adopt certain strategies. For instance, they avoid language that will expose their limitations (Hu et al. 2014; Tange 2010).

Despite these perceived challenges, some teachers believe that their limited proficiency does not really affect their teaching (Jensen et al. 2009; Kling 2015; McCambridge and Saarinen 2015). Teachers in the sciences especially tend to be less concerned about their proficiency in English and seem mostly concerned with the scientific content (Airey 2012a; Cots 2012; Hellekjaer 2007; Kling 2015; McCambridge and Saarinen 2015). In this respect, EMI teachers see themselves as subject specialists as opposed to language teachers (Airey 2012a; Knapp 2011). They do not see it as their role to teach language or to correct students' English. Proficiency in English is often evaluated in terms of knowledge of discipline-specific vocabulary rather than grammatical correctness: if teachers possess the specialised terminology of

their discipline, they believe this is sufficient to teach science (Kling 2015; McCambridge and Saarinen 2015). To put it simply, subject expertise prevails over language expertise. In fact, Kling (2015) argues that her participants do not really care about language as long as the scientific message gets across. This seems to confirm previous studies which have found that scientists tend to have a more utilitarian attitude towards the use of English (Airey et al. 2017; Cots 2012; Kuteeva and Airey 2014). Indeed, English is often viewed as a simple vehicle of communication which conveys content knowledge.

All these aforementioned studies have undeniably generated some rich findings. However, Dimova et al. (2015) call for more in-depth ethnographic studies which can account for the linguistically diverse classroom realities. Some observational studies have shown that even though English is the official medium of instruction, in practice, other languages are used (Ljosland 2010; Söderlundh 2012). Ljosland (2010) found, for instance, that Norwegian tended to be used in informal situations whereas English was used in most formal situations. Such ethnographic research is particularly useful in revealing the linguistic complexities of the EMI classroom. However, if we want to understand the bigger picture of EMI then a more holistic approach is needed. So far, studies have tended to focus solely on a single dimension or level of EMI (e.g. the classroom). Few studies have discussed the tensions that exist across multiple layers of policy activity, that is, tensions between the official discourse, institutional policies and actual practices. Often, there is no attempt to show how micro-level policies and practices relate to wider policy texts and discourses (and vice versa). In order to be able to show how language behaviours and beliefs at the individual level are linked to language policies at the societal level, Hult (2010: 9) suggests that “one must be able to zoom in and out” of different contexts. In the field of EMI, such multidimensional approaches are lacking. By situating EMI in a broader socio-political and historical context, this thesis attempts to uncover why EMI has been recontextualised in different ways across different settings.

Since my study aims to investigate how language policy “on paper” gets recontextualised “on the ground”, I situate my research in the field of language policy and planning (LPP, see chapter 2). In this respect my study offers new insight into the EMI phenomenon and contributes to our understanding of language policy.

1.6 Research on EMI in France

France is a latecomer in the global EMI trend which makes it an under-researched context. Very few studies have explored EMI in French universities from an empirical perspective. O’Connell and Chaplier (2014), for instance, discuss the general challenges of implementing EMI courses. They anticipate problems due to the overall low proficiency in English of French teachers and students. They argue that if EMI is implemented without proper consideration there is a risk of a drop in the quality of teaching. Similarly, Truchot (2010; 2013) warns that adopting EMI will have numerous negative consequences, not only on the quality of teaching but on the status of French. Reflecting on the debate provoked by the Fioraso bill, Grin (2014) discusses the fallacies surrounding the role of English in higher education. For instance, he deconstructs the myth about the global status of English, stating that the use of English is constantly overestimated. While these studies provide a general overview of the EMI situation in France, they do not, however, “zoom in” on specific instances of EMI.

Most researchers who have focused on France have studied attitudes towards English rather than EMI *per se*. There is a tendency in the literature to focus on the authoritarian nature of French language policy. Because of the long prescriptive tradition of language regulation in France (see chapter 2), academics overwhelmingly seem concerned about how the French “police” their language:

France is today the only nation in the world with legislation requiring (since 1974) the exclusive use of the national language in all public and private acts, from the drafting of laws to the language of commercial transactions and even a private citizen’s last will and testament, etc... France is the most extreme case [le cas limite] of a nation totally identified with one language, but which goes beyond this to defend the integrity of this linguistic personality in all aspects of social life against the claims and encroachments of any and all languages from inside or outside its borders. (Balibar 1985: 9, quoted in Schiffman 1996: 75)

Schiffman (1996: 77) comments: “today there is widespread concern in France about the loss of the international status French had acquired during the Enlightenment [...] much of the blame for this loss is laid at the feet of Anglo-American culture and the English language”. While it is certainly the case that some French speakers feel that their culture and language are at threat, to generalise this to the whole population (“widespread concern”) is perhaps exaggerated or at least misinformed. Few comment

on the fact that language policies (such as the 1994 Toubon Law) are often completely flouted. Scholars and journalists alike frequently recite the plethora of language policies, language bodies and terminology commissions to illustrate French attitudes towards the English language. These types of observations are often made on the basis of official language policy documents rather than on fieldwork research. The “Académie Française”, which has become an object of fascination for the Anglophone world according to Estival and Pennycook (2011: 338), is regularly quoted, as if it were representative of the French people. Its views are certainly indicative of an underlying angst but do not necessarily reflect all sections of society. As a result, there is often the misconception that the French are vehemently opposed to English and will defend their language at all costs.

No doubt, as we shall see in chapter 5, the question of French language does arouse passionate debates in France. However, general sweeping statements about how “the French” feel about their language are unwarranted. Such comments are nevertheless profuse:

[T]he question of language defence is taken with greater seriousness in France than in most other countries. Many French people [...] speak about their language with love. Their education, history, and very identity are all bound up in the language they have been explicitly taught to revere. [...] They have all been taught, particularly in the two centuries since the Revolution, that their beloved language is an essential element of the Republic and of their identity. (Adamson 2007: xiii)

These claims lack empirical evidence. Furthermore, it is not clear as to who the “many French people” refer to. Such imprecise accounts which insist on how the French “love” and “revere” their language run the risk of perpetuating language myths. By investigating how local actors engage with EMI, my study illustrates how the EMI phenomenon is far more complex.

Walsh (2015) is one of the few scholars to point out these preconceived language stereotypes. In her study she found that the majority of her participants viewed the English language and the use of Anglicisms in a positive light. She concludes that official government discourses do not coincide with the opinions of “ordinary” French speakers. Similarly, Deneire (2015: 55) challenges the “image of a one-sided monolithic French resistance to the spread of English”. He analysed a corpus of over 1,000 articles from French newspapers and magazines and found that resistance to

English is limited to a small set of national newspapers which represent the opinions of a “very small and very conservative French cultural elite” (Deneire 2015: 67).

The attention, therefore, has been primarily on *de jure* language policy rather than on *de facto* local practices. This is partly why I chose to focus on different sources of data to uncover how stakeholders at various levels of policy activity actually talk about, understand and react to EMI.

1.7 Outline of chapters

Chapter 2 provides a brief historical overview of the major language policies in France leading up to Article 2 of the Fioraso Law and then proposes a definition of language policy which is suited to the research aims of this study. Chapter 3 introduces the main theoretical framework as well as the methodology. More specifically, I discuss the multi-layered nature of language policy and the “ethnography of language policy”. Chapter 4 sets out to explain the ethnographic case study design and the analytical framework. Chapter 5 focuses on the parliamentary debates and the policy drafting process at the national level. Chapter 6 examines the interviews with the EMI teachers and the university administrators. Chapter 7 explores how EMI is enacted in the classroom. Chapter 8 attempts to bring chapters 5, 6 and 7 together by making connections across the data sets in order to investigate the policy trajectory of Article 2 of the Fioraso Law. Chapter 9 is an overall discussion of the research findings. Chapter 10 concludes the thesis by acknowledging the limitations of the study and suggesting future research directions.

Chapter 2

Language policy in the French context

2.1 Introduction

The first section of chapter 2 provides a historical overview of the major language policies in France which have led up to Article 2 of the Fioraso Law. This forms the backdrop against which current French language policies are discussed. The historical resistance to the spread of English and the promotion of French nationally and internationally are presented to show how language is still today a sensitive topic in France. The second section of the chapter develops a definition of language policy in relation to the historical context and research questions.

I now present a brief history of language policies which are directly relevant for my study. I will show how the traditional French-only model has been increasingly challenged over the years and yet how monolingual ideals remain deeply entrenched.

2.2 From the Enlightenment to the Revolution

2.2.1 The “Académie Française”

The “Académie Française”, established in 1635 by Richelieu, played a major role in standardising French and raising its status.⁵ The main aim of the Academy was to purify the French language and make it understandable to all (Académie Française n.d.) At the same time, the homogenisation of French was seen as a political tool to strengthen Louis XIII’s kingdom and develop diplomatic influence abroad. The Academy systematically codified French and established rules to “render it pure, eloquent and capable of treating the arts and sciences” (Académie Française n.d., my translation). In 1647, Vaugelas, an influential member of the Academy, defined the rules for the “bon usage” (“correct use”) of French and by 1694, the first complete dictionary was published. The focus on purity, correctness, grammar and spelling served to reinforce the belief “in the universality of standard French, in its innate

⁵ Standard French, as we know it today, did not exist in the 17th century. It was the “Francien dialect” (spoken in and around Paris by the highly educated and in the King’s court) which was “the actual antecedent to Modern French” (May 2001: 157).

clarity, precision, logic and elegance, and its superiority over any other language” (Ager 1999: 23).

At the same time, the prestige of French was also reinforced by the reign of Louis XIV and the works of 17th century writers and philosophers such as Descartes, Corneille, Molière and Racine (Oakes 2001). Later on, the prominence of French thinkers and intellectuals throughout the 18th century would further consolidate the position of French as “the language of the élite throughout Europe” (Oakes 2001: 58).

Despite Richelieu’s “laudable aim of codifying the language so that all French people could understand one another”, the rise of standard French inevitably marginalised certain groups and their ways of speaking, thus concentrating the power in the hands of the aristocracy (Adamson 2007: 5). The idea of French being universally understandable and bringing unity is a concept that would later on be reiterated during the French Revolution.

Almost 400 years later, the Academy still actively works to preserve and protect French, especially from the influence of English. The Academy’s website recommends “**avoiding the use of English terms**, which could, if accumulated, render the language too heterogeneous and could prevent clarity of discourse” (my emphasis, my translation). It is interesting that some 17th century discourses are still present today, notably the idea that a standard and pure variety of French is necessary for effective communication. Yet it is important to highlight that the Academy today plays a limited role in French language policy. As Estival and Pennycook (2011) point out, the Academy only operates as an advisory body rather than as a legislative body. Contrary to popular assumption, it has no legal authority and has little control over language matters. Estival and Pennycook (2011) insist on how the Academy is frequently misrepresented as an institution which seeks to prevent change and forbid borrowing. They conclude: “the primary role of the AF is therefore not to restrict the use of borrowed terminology but to create and sanction alternative terms” (Estival and Pennycook 2011: 334). This is true to a certain extent, however the prescriptive attitudes of the Academy are still very much visible on their website. There is an entire section dedicated to “What to say and what not to say” (my translation) under which feature lengthy discussions about Anglicisms. In my view, the Académie Française is a conservative cultural institution which can hardly be described as pro-change.

2.2.2 The building of the nation state: towards linguistic homogeneity

After the 1789 revolution, the idea of unity through one language became central in the building a new Republic. French language was no longer considered to be the language of the King but the language of the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen” (1789). At the time though, the vast majority of French people did not speak “standard” French but local or regional dialects. The revolutionaries saw this as an obstacle to the “*République une et indivisible*” (decreed in 1792 by the National Convention) and declared a policy of linguistic terror against all dialects and patois.⁶ While French was equated with civilisation, democracy and progress, all other languages (or “patois”) were regarded as “parochial vestiges of the Ancien Régime” (May 2017: 39).

Multilingualism was thus seen as inherently divisive and French became the unifying symbol of the Republic. Conversely, any language other than French was viewed as the enemy:

Federalism and superstition speak low Breton; emigration and hatred of the Republic speak German. The Counter-Revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us do away with these instruments of damage and error. [...] The monarchy had its reasons for resembling the Tower of Babel; in a democracy, leaving citizens ignorant of the national language, incapable of assuming power, means betraying the state [...] A free people must have one language, the same for all. (Barère 1794 qtd. in Leclerc 2016, my translation)

The way in which other languages were vilified and pathologised during this period is further illustrated in abbé Grégoire’s (1794) report discussing the need to “annihilate” patois and universalise the use of the French language.⁷ Throughout this period, the French language was repeatedly associated with values of equality and justice.

The recurring theme throughout the Revolution was that the French language was an integral part of the nation and political unity could only be achieved through linguistic unity. Discussing the role of language in European nationalist ideologies, Blommaert and Verschueren (1992: 362) argue that homogeneity is a “deeply engrained dogma”

⁶ Local and regional languages were not regarded as “languages” in their own right.

⁷ Abbé Grégoire concludes: “Unity of language is an integral part of the Revolution. If we are ever to banish superstition and bring men closer to the truth, to develop talent and encourage virtue, to mould all citizens into a national whole, to simplify the mechanism of the political machine and make it function more smoothly, we must have a common language” (cited in Grillo 1989: 24).

which views differences as dangerous and centrifugal. Ultimately, “the ideal model of society is mono-lingual, mono-ethnic, mono-religious, mono-ideological” (Blommaert and Verschueren 1992: 362). Ferguson (2006) describes the “Jacobin project” as a coercive homogenising enterprise which laid the ground for the modern European nation-state. France is often thought of as “the country which invented the concept of the nation-state, and which most consistently followed a policy based on bringing together the geographical, the political, the social, the cultural and the linguistic” (Ager 2001: 15). Adamson (2007) argues that these monolingual attitudes (“one language one nation” ideology) are still deeply entrenched today in the French national psyche. Whilst the founding of the Académie Française was a milestone for corpus planning, the French Revolution was a victory for status planning (Schiffman 1996: 85).⁸

2.3 The 19th century: securing the position of French inside and outside of France

2.3.1 The Jules Ferry laws

Despite the relentless efforts aimed at restricting the use of local and regional languages, by 1863, a quarter of the population could still not speak French and most schools in villages continued to use local languages for teaching (Ager 1996: 37). It is around this period that France went a step further and moved from a policy of linguistic “terror” to linguistic “genocide” (Leclerc 2016). All languages other than French were proscribed in schools. Leclerc (2016) discusses the various attempts to eradicate Breton, recalling signs in schools which stated: “It is forbidden to speak Breton or spit on the ground”. At the time, pupils would be punished and shamed by teachers for speaking local languages. However, despite these radical measures, the extinction of linguistic particularisms largely failed.

The main change came with the introduction of the Ferry laws (1881), which made primary school secular, obligatory and free. French was to be the only medium of instruction, the idea being that all children could thereby have equal access to

⁸ For definitions of corpus and status planning see section 2.7.1.

knowledge. By the end of the 19th century, French had become the dominant language, thereby consolidating the centralised nation-state.⁹

2.3.2 Prestige and image planning

Just after the Jules Ferry laws, the “Alliance Française” was founded in 1883 and established an international network of French schools and French language classes. This reflected a growing interest in the promotion of French internationally. The main aim of the “Alliance Française” was to spread French language and culture in French colonies and abroad.¹⁰ It was also conceived as part of a “civilising mission” contributing towards France’s “rayonnement” across the world.¹¹ Indeed, in the 1880s the term “rayonnement” began to emerge and gain prominence. Literally, it translates as “radiance” or “ray” and conveys the idea of sunlight or sunshine. However, it refers to a country’s ability to exert influence through its power of attraction and prestige. It is around the same time that Onésime Reclus, a geographer, is believed to have coined the term “francophonie”.¹² The term was first used to refer to all French speakers throughout the world. In his works, Reclus advocated expanding France’s influence (or “rayonnement”) through the colonisation of Africa.

The way in which French language and culture were continually associated with perfection and prestige can be seen as a form of “prestige and image planning” (Ager 2001). Through careful planning, France had succeeded in cultivating an image of sophistication and superiority. The French language was perceived as a particularly desirable language to learn. As local communities aspired to acquire French, they effectively became operators of the French language spread (Ager 2001). In the 19th and 20th century, the “Alliance Française” was considered to be a branch of France’s foreign policy and great efforts were undertaken to sustain the diffusion of French language and culture through education, schools and institutes. Today, the “Alliance

⁹ The spread of standard Parisian French was also facilitated by increased literacy, the diffusion of newspapers, military conscription and the construction of a modern Paris-centred transportation system (Cole and Harguindéguy 2013: 29).

¹⁰ The “Alliance Française” was in fact originally named the “Alliance française : Association nationale pour la propagation de la langue française dans les colonies et à l’étranger”.

¹¹ In 1885, in a conference about the role of the Alliance Française, André Gide proclaimed: “Arabs from Black Africa, blacks from Niger and the Congo, Annamites from Tonkin, barbaric races, we will stamp you with our image; we will teach you our language” (Gide 1885 cited in Chaubet 2004, my translation).

¹² The term “francophonie” first appeared in 1880 (Pelletier 2010).

Française” mainly promotes the teaching and learning of French around the world and is present in 137 countries.

2.4 After the Second World War

With the rise of American influence after World War II, there was a growing concern that Americanisation would lead to the deterioration of French language (and culture). In 1963, Sauvy denounced in *La Revue de Paris*, the “servilité linguistique” (“linguistic servitude”) of the French language and recommended that an official body be set up to create new words. Similarly, in his influential book *Parlez-vous franglais?* (1964) (“Do you speak Franglais?”) Etienne Lambast lambasted linguistic colonisation (Chansou 1983). In response to the perceived threat of English, a plethora of bodies was created in the 1960s and 1970s to develop French terminology and resist the “invasion” of English words into French vocabulary:

Successive governments reacted to this clarion call [Etienne’s pamphlet] with a veritable flurry of linguistic activism; commissions with grand titles were formed, weighty guidelines issued and imperious edicts enacted the mandatory use of the French language in public settings: work, education, research, the media and advertising. (Hazeersingh 2015: 224)

This wave of linguistic and “cultural patriotism” (Hazeersingh 2015: 224) culminated in the Bas-Lauriol Law (1975) (see below section 2.4.2). Leclerc (2016) estimates that throughout the 20th century, the French government adopted approximately 40 legislative texts concerning the preservation of the French language.

2.4.1 Restoring France’s “rayonnement”

On the international scene, France had been weakened by the war and had lost economic, political and diplomatic influence. While during the 19th century France had remained “the undisputed heavyweight in Europe [...] the growing might and influence of the United States altered the balance of power radically” (Wright 2006: 39). The decline of France on the international stage coincided with the decline of the status of French in international organisations. Pelletier (2010) notes that as the position of French deteriorated, the preoccupation with France’s “rayonnement” soared. Reasserting French influence internationally became a primary focus of foreign policy.

After granting independence to all its former colonies, Général de Gaulle and President Pompidou proceeded to carry out a “politique de grandeur” aimed at restoring France’s image and reaffirming its political and economic independence. During the 1960s, there was a growing awareness of the existence of an international Francophone community and the concept of “Francophonie” (although coined in 1880) was beginning to appear more frequently in the political sphere. In 1970 the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) was created. The initiative was undertaken by African heads of state and aimed to build cooperation between countries which shared the French language. Interestingly, the French state was at first hesitant about the idea of former French colonies forming a political alliance. However, it came to be perceived as an opportunity to maintain French influence and develop linguistic and economic ties.

In 1966, under Pompidou, the “Haut Comité pour la défense et l’expansion de la langue française” (High Commission for the protection and expansion of the French language) was set up to develop the Francophone community and to defend the purity of French. In 1972 Pompidou declared: “Il n’y a pas de place pour les langues et cultures régionales dans une France qui doit marquer l’Europe de son sceau” (*“There is no room for regional languages and cultures in a France which must leave its mark on Europe”*). Most speeches and policies at the time of de Gaulle and Pompidou were tinged with triumphalism, imperialism and nationalist ideology (Chansou 1983). It is not surprising that when the OIF was launched, it was criticised for being a neo-colonialist project.

2.4.2 Monolingualism on the inside, multilingualism on the outside

Jacques Chirac, who became Prime Minister in 1975, reassured the international Francophone community by insisting on the values of solidarity and cooperation. Over time, more emphasis was placed on dialogue, mutual respect and equal relationships. Indeed, Chansou (1983) argues that France could no longer afford to rely on its assimilationist model. It had to renew its strategies by presenting itself as open to (rather than superior to) other languages and cultures. Showing solidarity with other cultures and languages was seen as the best way to resist the supremacy of English. In the face of the perceived threat of English, the new strategy consisted in joining forces to defend linguistic and cultural diversity. Calvet (2002: 118, my translation)

highlights the hypocrisy of this tactic: “Behind the defence of ‘minor’ languages looms the opposition to the domination of English on the part of speakers of supercentral languages”. Hence, promoting linguistic diversity was in fact only a means of resisting Anglo-American imperialism, rather than a true objective in itself. This strategy, which Coleman (2006: 8) terms “adopting a protective multilingualist stance”, is still deployed today. For example, one of the OIF’s main objectives is to promote the French language as well as linguistic and cultural diversity.¹³

The growing disparity between national and international language policies was becoming fairly obvious. While on the international level, France defended linguistic diversity, on the national level the monolingual model prevailed:

The avowed enthusiasm of the French government and elites for plurilingualism at international level has seemed an odd development to many commentators (e.g., Blanchet, Breton, & Schiffman, 1999), because of their poor record on defending diversity within the state. (Wright 2006: 48)

At the national level, Chirac insisted on the necessity to protect the “quality” and “precision” of French to ensure that French remained understandable to all (Chansou 1983). Portrayed as a democratic initiative, it was argued that standard language was a key to equal access in communication and information: “The Republican belief that equality and democracy require a community of communication has led to a resolutely monolingual polity where there is little space for even the symbolic use of the other languages of France” (Wright 2006: 48-49).

The Bas-Lauriol Law (1975) largely drew on this rhetoric and was passed to protect French consumers, employees and service users from foreign terms which might otherwise be misleading. It restricted the use of foreign words in public signs, in work contracts and documentation for appliances, for example. Although protectionist measures were increasingly discussed in terms of “language rights”, this law was not popular. It was considered by many as too interventionist and as a result was not really observed.

It is telling that as soon as France had signed the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, it went on to add an amendment to the French Constitution stating that: “the language of the Republic is French”. Though this amendment is purely symbolic, it reflects profound

¹³ <https://www.francophonie.org/-Qu-est-ce-que-la-Francophonie-.html>

linguistic (and identity) insecurity and its position within the Constitution is far from insignificant:

La langue de la République est le français.
L’emblème national est le drapeau tricolore, bleu, blanc, rouge.
L’hymne national est la “Marseillaise”.
La devise de la République est “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”. (Article 2)

*The language of the Republic is French.
The national emblem is the three-coloured blue, white and red flag.
The national anthem is the “Marseillaise”.
“Liberty, Equality and Fraternity” is the motto of the Republic.*

The same year the “European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages” (1992) was adopted by the Council of Europe but France only signed it in 1999. In fact, the treaty has still not been ratified to this day despite President Hollande’s promise to do so during his 2012 election campaign.

With growing pressure from the EU, the French state had to shift its attitude regarding regional languages. This can be seen with the “General Delegation for the French language” (DGLF) symbolically changing its name to “General Delegation for the French language and the languages of France” in 2001 for example (my translation, my emphasis). In 2008, the regional languages of France were officially recognised in the Constitution as being part of France’s cultural heritage.

2.5 The Toubon Law (1994)

From the 1980s onwards, various politicians began complaining about the inefficiency of the Bas-Lauriol Law (1975) and called for renewed legislation. In 1993, Socialist President Mitterrand lost his parliamentary majority and was forced into a cohabitation government with the Conservatives. That same year, Jacques Toubon, a right-wing politician, presented a language policy bill to the new majority. Chansou (1997), who studied the evolution of the legislative text, argues that the Toubon bill was inspired by nationalist ideology. The coercive policy sparked much debate, especially amongst Socialists who took the bill to the Constitutional Council. In 1994, the Toubon Law was finally passed after numerous modifications. The final law (which had been considerably “softened”) still caused much public controversy and resistance as it extended Bas-Lauriol’s dispositions. Article 1 states the general principles of the law:

As the language of the Republic, according to the Constitution, the French language is a fundamental element of France's personality and heritage.

It is the language of teaching, work, communication and public services.

It is the privileged link between the states forming the Francophone community. (Toubon Law, Article 1, my translation)

The law imposed the use of French in a number of domains such as advertising, employment, commercial communication, public signs, media and education. Regarding education, the law explicitly states that teaching, exams, dissertations and theses must be in French, in public and private schools and universities alike. The only exceptions include foreign language teaching, foreign visiting professors and certain specialised schools (i.e. international schools).

The extent to which the law was enforced is debatable. For over a decade many universities have been offering some courses in English even though it was theoretically illegal. A study conducted by Hérán (2013) revealed that over a quarter of academics admitted giving lectures in English on a “regular” or “occasional” basis. The study concludes that despite protectionist measures such as the Toubon Law, EMI is continuing to gain ground in tertiary education.

2.6 The 21st century historical language policy shift

EMI courses have existed for many years in France, mostly in the prestigious and highly competitive “Grandes Ecoles” and business schools. However, EMI is still a fairly recent phenomenon in public universities and few programmes are entirely taught in English.

Following a history of protectionist and defensive measures, the introduction in July 2013 of a new law which aimed to facilitate EMI in universities proved extremely controversial. Only Article 2 of the law, most commonly known as the “Fioraso Law” (named after the Minister of Higher Education and Research), actually concerns language policy. Article 2 is an extension of the 1994 Toubon Law in that it adds another exemption, making it easier (in principle) to teach in languages other than French.¹⁴ It effectively specifies further conditions under which languages other than

¹⁴ Note that Article 2 never specifically refers to *English* medium of instruction as such but rather to “languages other than French” or “foreign languages”. However, as the parliamentary debates, news reports, media coverage, press releases and unofficial language policy documents suggest, it is obvious that this is what is implicitly meant.

French can be used for teaching. Hence it is important to remember that the Toubon Law (1994) is still in effect to this day.

Although the text was finally adopted in July 2013, it was the result of a year of national consultation, debates, meetings and discussions.¹⁵ The government began with a six-month national consultation phase in July 2012 and organised meetings all over France. In total, 20,000 participants took part in the consultation. In November 2012, 700 delegates gathered at the Collège de France and, after 2 days of debating, all the measures which had been so far proposed were condensed into 121 propositions. These propositions were then put forward to President François Hollande in December 2012. A closer look into these reports leading up to the initial bill is revealing and crucial to understand the intentions behind the legislative text. The rationale for “developing courses in English, especially at the Master’s level” is that:

Ce serait ignorer la réalité du contexte scientifique ou économique international que d’entraver le développement de cursus en anglais sous prétexte de défense de la francophonie : la culture et la langue française se développeront bien davantage en étant une terre d’accueil réellement attractive, et les cours en anglais n’empêchent pas les étudiants résidant en France d’apprendre le français et d’aimer la France. On constate en tout cas que peu d’étudiants étrangers parlent français a priori et que **la barrière du français est un argument répulsif considérable** dans le choix de leur destination. [...] Finalement, loin de protéger la francophonie, **la défense par trop exclusive de l’enseignement en français entrave le rayonnement de la France**. Il n’y a pas lieu d’opposer le français et l’anglais. Les contraintes législatives et réglementaires actuelles [Loi Toubon], de ce point de vue, semblent **totalelement archaïques** lorsque les faits montrent que le nombre de masters dispensés en langue anglaise est passé de 11 en 2007 à 346 en 2012, en France, en accord avec la tendance européenne. (Report to the President of the Republic, 17 Dec 2012) (my emphasis)

*It would mean ignoring the reality of the international, scientific or economic context if we hindered the development of courses in English under the pretext of defending Francophonie. French language and culture will thrive more by offering a real welcome to students and courses in English will not stop students living in France from learning French and loving France. Anyway, it is a fact that few foreign students have prior knowledge of French and that **the language barrier is a strong deterrent** in the choice of their destination. [...] Finally, far from protecting Francophonie, **too rigid a defence of teaching in French is actually an obstacle to the “rayonnement” of France**. French and English should not be opposed. Current legislation [Toubon Law] is from this point of view **completely archaic** when it can be demonstrated that the number*

¹⁵ See appendix 16 for a timeline of the Fioraso Law.

of Master's programmes in France taught in English has risen from 11 in 2007 to 346 in 2012, in line with the general trend in Europe.

This extract shows a complete and historical turnaround in discourse compared to 20th century policy documents. Here the Toubon Law is dismissed as “archaic” and irrelevant in today’s context and the English language is constructed as an inherent component of the promotion of French. Although over the past decade there have been a number of political initiatives aimed at introducing English language teaching at earlier stages in primary education, no politician had yet attempted to interfere with the Toubon Law.

These types of pronouncements were not widely circulated which is why it is necessary to look at the surrounding texts and discourses. Another text was then drafted for the Prime Minister in January 2013 which again stressed the inflexible dispositions of the Toubon Law. Finally, after another 120 meetings, the bill was presented before Parliament. It proposed to authorise teaching in “foreign languages” when programmes are part of an international agreement with another university. Chapter 5 will discuss in depth the parliamentary debates and textual transformations of the bill. At this point, it is important to note that Article 2 signals a departure from the traditional French-only language policy. While the 1994 Toubon Law is still in force, the national consultation phase reveals intentions to significantly move away from it. I now move on to provide a definition of “language policy” in relation to the French context and my research questions.

2.7 Towards a definition of language policy

2.7.1 A brief history of language policy definitions

Although language policy activities have existed for centuries,¹⁶ the field of language policy and planning (LPP) only emerged in the 1960s when scholars were called upon to help solve “language problems” for new, developing or postcolonial states. Even then, “early language planning was primarily something that a handful of scholars *did*, and only later became an object of study” (Hult and Johnson 2015: 1). Early scholarship tended to talk about language “planning” rather than language “policy” (Cooper 1989; Fishman 1974; Fishman et al. 1968; Haugen 1959; Rubin and Jernudd

¹⁶ In France, the first language policy document as such dates back to 1539, when François I issued an edict making French (or “Francien” to be more precise) obligatory in all legal documents.

1971). The term “language planning” was first introduced in the literature by Haugen in 1959 in his study on language standardisation in Norway. Haugen (1959: 8) defines language planning as “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community”. The emphasis on the language itself, its form and structure later became known as “corpus planning” which Cooper (1989: 31) defines as “activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script”.¹⁷ Language planning during this period was largely prescriptive and decisions were often undertaken by language experts.

Decisions regarding the allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions, tended to be conducted by governmental bodies or politicians (Cooper 1989: 32). Kloss (1969) makes a useful distinction between “corpus planning” (decisions regarding the form of language) and “status planning” (decisions regarding the uses and functions of language).¹⁸ The two activities necessarily overlap, corpus planning often being the result of status planning. If a language is made official, efforts might follow to standardise, elaborate or possibly “purify” the language to fit its new function. Despite the overlap, the conceptual distinction was an important theoretical development for the field and was integrated into some subsequent definitions of language planning (Karam 1974; Rubin and Jernudd 1971, cited in Cooper 1989: 30).

However, it is the idea of “solving problems” which seemed to persist throughout most definitions of the 70s and 80s.¹⁹ A fairly typical definition of language planning at the time is the following:

[A] government authorised, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language’s function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems. (Weinstein 1980: 55, cited in Cooper 1989: 31)

Language planning here is mainly conceived as a deliberate decision or plan (“conscious effort”), usually coming from an official body (“government”) to change

¹⁷ Corpus planning includes graphisation (developing or modifying writing systems), standardisation (developing and disseminating a supra-dialectal variety and codification) and modernisation (lexical expansion).

¹⁸ Article 2 would be considered as a typical example of status planning as it deals with the medium of instruction in higher education.

¹⁹ “Language planning is focused on problem solving” (Rubin and Jernudd 1971); “Language planning refers to the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems” (Fishman 1974). (Cited in Cooper 1989: 30-31)

the form or function of a language (corpus and status planning) in order to solve a problem.

Cooper (1989) provides an overview and critique of twelve definitions of language planning since Haugen's definition in 1959. In his discussion, he suggests thinking about "who plans what for whom and how" (Cooper 1989: 31). Regarding "who" does the planning, he notes that too many definitions restrict language planning to governments and authoritative bodies. Under the "what" category, Cooper (1989) adds "acquisition planning" (language learning related activities) to "status planning" and "corpus planning". Furthermore, Cooper (1989) remarks that many definitions referring to "language problems" fail to recognise the covert goals of language planning:

Language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups, and mass mobilization of national or political movements. (Cooper 1989: 35)

He gives the example of the Académie Française which, by promoting the language of the ruling elite, served to support the regime. Concerning the target (the "for whom"), Cooper (1989: 35) believes it is a mistake "to confine a definition of language planning to aggregates at the national level or to the societal level" because this would exclude, on the one hand, smaller communities such as schools, classrooms or even individuals and, on the other hand, wider international activities (such as actions taken by the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, for example). Cooper (1989: 38) takes a much broader view of language planning, conceiving it both as a top-down and bottom-up process: "it should not be concluded, however, that there is a one-way sequence from macrolevel to microlevel decision-making, whereby the decisions made at the lower levels are decisions only with respect to implementation of policies set at higher levels". Cooper (1989) moves away from the exclusive focus on language planning as top-down activity initiated by authoritative bodies. Instead, he insists that not all language planning is carefully planned but rather "can be a messy affair—ad hoc, haphazard, and emotionally driven" (Cooper 1989: 41). He offers a broad definition for language planning: "language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes" (Cooper 1989: 45). With this definition, Cooper

(1989) does not restrict language interventions to specific target groups and does not limit decisions to authoritative institutions such as governments.

Gradually, the notion of language “policy” was added to the theoretical discussions.²⁰ While in the literature the terms “policy” and “planning” are often used interchangeably, some scholars argue that they are related yet separate activities. Hornberger (2006: 25) points out the ambiguous relationship between the two by asking the following questions: “Does planning subsume policy or policy subsume planning? Is policy the output of planning? Does planning have policy as its intended outcome?”. Ricento (2000: 23), for instance, uses “language policy” as a superordinate term which subsumes “language planning”. Others contend that they are part of a sequential process:

The exercise of language planning leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person). A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system. (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: xi)

In some cases “language planning” refers to the preparatory work leading to the formulation of a “language policy”. Alternatively, it can be seen as the process which comes after the formulation of a policy (i.e. the operationalisation of plans). Furthermore, distinctions between “language policy” and “language planning” are sometimes made on a government vs. non-government basis. As illustrated above, traditional definitions of language policy tend to portray policy as a set of ideas, rules, laws or regulations that are typically issued from the “top”. This is the understanding of Ager (2001) for whom “language policy” is official by nature and intervention is carried out by a political authority, whereas “language planning” refers to the unofficial, conscious attempts of communities or individuals to influence language practices.²¹ This is a useful conceptual distinction though the terms are not clearly separable in any empirical sense.

Hence the “LPP” designation is useful in that it encompasses both “policy” and “planning” and serves as “a way around the lack of agreement on the exact nature of

²⁰ While the term “language policy” does appear in Cooper (1989: 29), it was not nearly as popular as “language planning”. It became more widespread later on in the literature.

²¹ Ager’s (2001) distinction seems to be based on the etymology of “policy”. The word “policy” comes from Middle French “policie” (c1370) meaning government and political organisation (originally from Latin “politia”; Oxford English Dictionary).

that relationship” (Hornberger 2006: 25). However, the general disagreement calls for a clear definition of language policy for this study.

2.7.2 Towards a definition of language policy for my research

While traditional definitions of “language policy” and “language planning” may be somewhat restrictive, recent developments in the LPP literature extend definitions to the point that Johnson (2013a: 9) asks the question: “What isn’t language policy?”. Johnson (2013a) gives the example of McCarty (2011: 8) for whom language policy is “modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power”. While I agree that language policy decisions also occur at lower levels, viewing all face-to-face interaction as possible instances of language policy is unhelpful. Even though McCarty (2011) specifies that “policy” resides only in language-regulating mechanisms, this could still effectively include any (non)verbal communication. Johnson (2013a) gives the example of a parent who clears his throat at the dinner table when a child uses a forbidden word. The act of clearing one’s throat (which could be interpreted as a language-regulating mechanism) is not in itself a policy since the policy (e.g. “no using bad words at the dinner table”) precedes the act. The act and the policy are thus two separate things. However, if a family deliberately decides that certain words must not be used within the household then this decision can, in my opinion, be viewed as a micro-level language policy. Although the rule is not written down, it is a conscious decision to modify linguistic behaviour. Thus even though language practices can inform and be influenced by language policies, not all language practices are language policies.

For Spolsky (2004), language policy includes three components: language practices (observable linguistic behaviours and choices, what people actually do, their habitual pattern of selecting varieties), language beliefs (values assigned to language varieties, beliefs about language or language use) and language management (direct efforts to influence or manipulate practices or beliefs). This definition also begs the question as to whether language beliefs and practices are in and of themselves language policies (Johnson 2013a). It is difficult to see, for instance, how language beliefs (e.g. “proficiency in English improves job opportunities”) are in any way language policies.

Furthermore, scholars have used a series of dichotomies to discuss the various types of language policy: overt/covert, explicit/implicit, de jure/de facto, official/unofficial (Johnson 2013a: 10). The profusion of terms is somewhat confusing especially as they all seem to overlap. It is true that many countries do not have formal or written language policies, so it is often necessary to go beyond the most “obvious manifestation of policy” (i.e. governmental or institutional documents; Liddicoat 2013: 4). Indeed, Liddicoat (2013: 4) reminds us that “language policy also exists in less tangible and less codified forms”. Furthermore, not all language policy is about change. It can sometimes be about deliberately maintaining the status quo. Indeed, policy can be expressed in silences: “non-decision making is as much an expression of policy as are the actual decisions made [...] significant manifestations of policy and power are often evident when things stay the same” (Rizvi and Lingard 2010: 4). While Johnson (2013a: 24) welcomes new contributions to the field, he warns that “without ongoing conceptual refinement, ‘language policy’ may become so loosely defined as to encompass almost any sociolinguistic phenomena”. However, his definition of language policy is so long that it is equally problematic:

A language policy is a mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language and includes:

1. Official regulations—often enacted in the form of written documents, intended to effect some change in the form, function, use, or acquisition of language—which can influence economic, political, and educational opportunity;
2. Unofficial, covert, de facto, and implicit mechanisms, connected to language beliefs and practices, that have regulating power over language use and interaction within communities, workplaces and schools;
3. Not just products but processes—“policy” as a verb, not a noun—that are driven by a diversity of language policy agents across multiple layers of policy creation, interpretation and appropriation and instantiation;
4. Policy texts and discourses across multiple contexts and layers of policy activity, which are influenced by the ideologies and discourses unique to that context. (Johnson 2013a: 9)

Johnson (2013a) appears to want to provide an exhaustive definition of language policy with all its possible components and policy types. As a result, his definition seems to encompass language policy as an object, theory and process.

In my view, the main problem is that there is a confusion between “language policy” and “language policy *research*”. I take a fairly classical definition of “language policy” but combine it with a multi-layered analysis which takes into account the fact that policy operates across multiple levels (see chapter 3). In other words, I differentiate between language policy (as a set of deliberate decisions, ideas, rules or regulations) and language policy as a theoretical concept (which involves processes of policy creation, interpretation and appropriation). For me, language policy texts and decisions are only part of a wider policy process (which includes agenda-setting, policy formulation, text production, processes of interpretation, policy enactment etc.). The steps leading up to the formulation of a policy as well as the implementation which follows are all part of language policy methodology. Language policy research thus goes far beyond textual analysis as it is concerned with beliefs, practices, processes and discourses at all levels.

I also argue that the definition of language policy should primarily depend on one’s research aims and on the research context. Since the starting point of my research is Article 2 of the Fioraso Law (a legal document issued by the Ministry of Higher Education and Research) it seems fitting to adopt the term “policy” in its traditional sense (i.e. as a set of rules, laws or regulations administrated by an authoritative body). As an official legal document which has been formally promulgated by Parliament, Article 2 is the epitome of classical definitions of language policy. In this study, the term “policy” is preferred to “planning” as it is more suited to the French context. Indeed, France’s long history of language legislation produced by governmental bodies has meant that it is often viewed as the “country with one of the most sophisticated and demanding language policies in existence” (Spolsky 2004: 13).

For this study, I propose the following definition:

A language policy is a set of deliberate ideas, rules, laws or regulations initiated by government (or another authoritative body or individual) which aim to influence language behaviours with respect to the structure, function, use or acquisition of language.

This definition allows me to investigate how a specific language policy (Article 2) has been locally recontextualised and appropriated in different ways. It also enables me to account for policy decisions made at lower levels. Indeed, among “authoritative”

figures I include senior university administrators as well as teachers. Hence universities and classrooms may also have their own language policies.

All deliberate efforts to influence language practices are, however, not considered as language policies as such. For example, during one of my classroom observations a teacher pauses and comments “Aren’t we supposed to be speaking English?”. I do not consider this comment as a specific language policy *per se* but rather as a manifestation of language policy. For me a language policy is a sustained conscious decision to influence language behaviours rather than a one-off remark. While in theory the distinction between policy and practice may seem straightforward, in reality it is far from clear-cut.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has provided a brief historical overview of France’s language policy legislation since the 17th century with the creation of the Académie Française. I discussed how the French language rose to prominence over the 18th and 19th century both within France and internationally. However, after the Second World War, the status of French had considerably declined which triggered a desire to restore France’s image on the world stage. During the second half of the 20th century, a profusion of language policy measures were introduced to protect and promote the French language, including the Toubon Law (1994) which made French the only medium of instruction in French universities. I then discussed how Article 2 of the Fioraso Law (2013) came about and how it signalled a historical language policy shift. In the last section I established a definition of language policy which is suited to the French context and my research.

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework and research methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the main theoretical framework for this study as well as the methodology. By drawing on Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) "onion" metaphor, I show how language policy can be conceptualised as a multi-layered process which involves policy agents at all levels. The ability for teachers to resist, change or adopt official policy documents shows that language policies are not merely implemented but are continually reinterpreted and recreated. In order to investigate how individuals engage with Article 2 in different ways, I suggest adopting Johnson's (2013a) "ethnography of language policy". I explain why it is a particularly useful methodology for examining processes of policy creation, interpretation and appropriation. Finally, I discuss how certain concepts of CDA can be combined with the "ethnography of language policy" in order to reveal how language policies operate within wider societal discourses and ideologies.

3.2 Applying a language policy framework to the study of EMI

3.2.1 Moving beyond linguistic imperialism

The spread of English (and EMI) has been investigated under an array of paradigms, notably as an example of "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson 1992). Phillipson (1992: 47) defines linguistic imperialism as "the process by which the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages". He distinguishes the dominant "core" English-speaking countries (the UK, the USA, Australia and New Zealand) and the dominated "periphery" countries (former British colonies which still use English in certain domains—e.g. India or Nigeria—and countries with no British colonial past), suggesting that the "core" countries exercise political and economic control over "periphery" countries. He insists on how international organisations such as the IMF, the World Bank or the British Council are responsible for perpetuating linguistic and socioeconomic inequalities. Under the

linguistic imperialism model, the spread of EMI is viewed in the same light as the spread of English. For Phillipson (2015), EMI is also connected to the legacy of the British Empire and to the current dominance of the USA. More specifically, he argues that supranational initiatives, such as the Bologna Process, constitute some of the driving forces behind the switch to EMI. In his opinion, the expansion of EMI is not demand-led but the result of powerful structural and ideological influences whereby universities internalise hegemonic discourses and practices through a combination of coercion and consent. By associating EMI with dominant discourses which reproduce social inequalities, he concludes that the expansion of EMI in European universities predominantly represents a “threat” (Phillipson 2015).

While Phillipson (2015) is right to challenge and question the apparent neutrality of the driving forces behind EMI (such as discourses on internationalisation), his model is, however, too one-dimensional. The introduction of EMI in universities cannot be seen as a top-down linear process whereby universities are pressured or coerced into offering courses in English. It is certainly the case that some EU initiatives have influenced national and local language policy decisions yet the shift towards EMI is a complex phenomenon. Phillipson’s approach leaves little room for more specific situated accounts of how EMI is actually enacted locally. While universities may officially offer courses in English, in practice, other languages are also used in EMI classrooms (Ljosland 2010; Söderlundh 2012). Therefore a context-sensitive perspective of what really takes place “on the ground” is essential. For Canagarajah (1999: 41-42), what is missing from Phillipson’s theoretical framework is “the individual, the particular [...] how linguistic hegemony is experienced in the day to day life of the people and communities in the periphery”. The imperialistic model does not capture the complexities which have led individual countries/universities/teachers to appropriate EMI in many different ways. The way in which local actors make sense of EMI is extremely varied and such a framework may undermine this diversity. It is helpful in focusing on the macro-level structures yet it fails to highlight the possibility for individual agency:

English is not the kind of imperialist global movement which the more extreme conspiracy theorists suggest. The societal changes instead reflect the cumulative impact of a myriad local discussions at departmental or faculty level, comprising false starts and experiential adaptation, and whose prime

movers are motivated above all by local contexts and domestic concerns. (Coleman 2012, xv).

Coleman (2012) views the spread of EMI as an aggregation of micro-level decisions rather than in imperialistic terms. Ferguson (2012) warns against deterministic accounts based on concepts of hegemony which downplay the critical reasoning of individuals and tend to exaggerate the influence of discourse. Discussing the medium of instruction in Hong Kong, Morrison and Lui (2000: 472) argue that “people seek and use English, not because they are ideological stooges or unenlightened victims of ideological and cultural hegemony” but for a variety of reasons. Hence a science faculty in France may offer courses in English for very different reasons than a humanities faculty in the Netherlands. The linguistic imperialism approach obfuscates the myriad of ways in which EMI is understood and enacted.

Pennycook (2000) has also criticised Phillipson for being too deterministic and monolithic. He examines how social inequalities are sustained through micro-level practices rather than through powerful macrostructural forces. My research shows that EMI is on some occasions a bottom-up initiative. Some teachers *actively* choose to create more programmes in English even though this is not a university directive. Naturally, the extent to which individuals are able to make their own free independent decisions is open to debate. Nevertheless, by viewing EMI as an imperialistic force “Phillipson runs the danger of implying that choices are nothing but an ideological reflex of linguistic imperialism. Such a position lacks a sense of agency, resistance or appropriation” (Pennycook 2000: 114). Furthermore, the idea that there is a “centre” which exploits the “periphery” is somewhat reductive and simplistic: “it is increasingly difficult to see English as an imposition from an imperial center [...] mechanisms of control have become essentially immanent in local social and political relations” (Park and Wee 2012: 5). Hence Phillipson’s account does not leave much room for the active role of individuals in appropriating EMI for their own purposes. Viewing all universities in the “periphery” as passive dominated subjects is not helpful in understanding *why* certain institutions choose to introduce EMI and *how* they choose to adopt it. My view is that universities do not offer EMI courses because of any direct imposition *per se*.

Despite all the aforementioned shortcomings, the framework is still extremely useful to map out the ways in which policies are connected to larger global forces (Pennycook

2000). Phillipson (2015) rightly points out that EMI is rarely ever questioned. There is a tendency in the EMI literature in Europe to view EMI as “just there”, as if it were the result of a natural process. He is one of the few to discuss the ideological underpinnings of EMI.²² Phillipson (2015) warns against accounts which suggest that English is now “owned” by all who use it, as this frees English from its origins and disconnects it from economic and political forces. English is not a “free-floating language whose expansion should be considered advantageous for all” (Phillipson 2015: 23). In this respect, the imperialistic framework is useful in viewing EMI as political and ideological. He condemns academics who present EMI as *inevitable* or English as *the* language of academia since, in his view, they are effectively contributing to the linguistic hegemony of English. Hence the notion of linguistic imperialism can be helpful in revealing how language policies operate within hegemonic discourses. Phillipson’s (2015) approach is thus essential in taking a critical approach to EMI. If a university decides to introduce courses in English to attract international students or to raise the institution’s profile these rationales need to be questioned:

Rational though these actions are, they are, of course, not freely undertaken but conditioned rather by wider structural factors: the globalisation and commodification of higher education in a competitive, market-driven world characterised by the increased mobility of academics and students, and by the increased ease of international communication. (Ferguson 2007: 14)

Hence the linguistic imperialism model has informed my overall methodology in that I do not see EMI as a neutral phenomenon. However, I do not view EMI in terms of *imperialist* relations whereby powerful state actors and global institutions *control* the periphery. Rather, I view EMI in terms of *power* relations whereby hegemonic discourses *shape* and are *shaped by* local practices. The main difference between my approach to EMI and Phillipson’s is that I apply a Language Policy Planning (LPP) framework to the study of EMI. While he is interested in the spread of English more generally, I investigate EMI in terms of policy processes (see next section).

²² EMI has long been criticised for marginalising or disenfranchising certain linguistic groups, especially in postcolonial settings, but recent research on EMI in higher education in Europe rarely addresses questions of power, access and inequality.

3.2.2 Policy as a multi-layered process

Language policies are not created by governing bodies and then simply implemented by practitioners: “traditional language policy research has tended to dichotomize language policy ‘creation’ and ‘implementation’, ignoring the agentive role that ‘implementers’ play in policy appropriation” (Johnson 2009: 156). Rather than seeing teachers as policy “implementers” who simply carry out a policy, more recent LPP theories conceptualise teachers as policy “makers”. With greater attention given to the ability for educators to appropriate language policy, the field of LPP has gradually shifted away from accounts which solely view language policies as mechanisms of power and control. Since the 1990s, there has been a growing interest in understanding how official language policies are actually played out and understood in localised settings. By examining what happens “on the ground”, LPP scholars have been able to uncover the tensions between policy and practice. Hult (2017) discusses how discursive approaches to language policy are particularly well suited for making connections between national policy texts and local interpretation or implementation.

The growing recognition that language policy happens as much at the micro-level as at the government level is perhaps best exemplified in Ricento and Hornberger’s (1996) conceptualisation of language policy as an “onion”. Metaphorically speaking, the “onion” symbolises the multiple layers through which a policy moves. The outer layer represents the official national language policy legislation. As the policy moves down through the different levels (national, institutional and interpersonal) the official policy changes “either explicitly in new written documents or through interpretation of existing documents” (Ricento and Hornberger 1996: 417). By the time the policy reaches the classroom (the centre of the onion) the language practices can be very different from those intended at the start. This conceptual framework has been extremely useful in highlighting teachers’ ability to transform policy and instigate change. In this paradigm, teachers are no longer seen as policy recipients who implement what “experts” in the government have decided. Rather, they are viewed as part of the policy-making process: “the texts are nothing without the human agents who act as interpretive conduits between the language policy levels” (Hornberger and Johnson 2007: 528). Hence a simple textual analysis cannot tell us much. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) stress the importance of bottom-up forces and teachers’ power to

resist, adopt or change language policy which can then influence the language policy at “the top”. The idea of unpeeling the “onion” is useful in going beyond the simple analysis of official policy documents (the outer layer) and seeing how policies are appropriated in different policy contexts.

The “onion” metaphor is particularly relevant for my study as I am investigating how an official language policy (Article 2 of the Fioraso Law) is recontextualised in a specific university. Ultimately, I explore the centre of the onion by observing what goes on in the EMI classroom. However, the metaphor is only useful in conceptualising language policy as a multi-layered process. The idea that the onion as a “whole” makes up Article 2 is somewhat oversimplistic. As Ball (1993) points out, many educators rely on intermediary or secondary accounts of policy (such as media reports) to make sense of what the policy is about. Indeed, “some texts are never read at first hand” (Ball 1993: 12). Therefore teachers may hear about the Fioraso Law through a variety of sources but may never directly engage with official legislation. Official policy texts exist alongside numerous other past and present texts. For example, the Fioraso Law is explicitly linked to current EU policy objectives. At the same time, Article 2 is an extension of the 1994 Toubon Law. Thus the Fioraso Law does not exist in isolation but is part of a policy ensemble. The metaphor of the “onion” is in this sense too neat and bounded to capture all the different policy connections. Language policy is indeed a “messy affair” (Cooper 1989: 41).

Rather than talking about policy “layers” or policy “levels”, Hult (2010: 14) prefers using the concept of “scales” (taken from Blommaert 2007): “what are often theorized as “layers” are essentially the result of an analytical lens”. The “layer” or “level” as such is a question of power of magnification. That is, researchers zoom in and out of different discursive contexts depending on the object and focus of inquiry. The idea that there are clearly defined onion layers is flawed since “the strata are ultimately an abstraction” (Hult 2010: 13). This is not to say that there are no discrete and identifiable settings. It is indeed possible to study language policies in particular contexts such as in a specific school. However, for Hult (2010; 2017) the concept of “scales” is more appropriate in capturing how discourse processes operate across space and time. From this perspective it can be argued that the concept of policy “layers” is somewhat problematic in that they are pre-identified by the researcher.

Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the “onion” is still one of the most influential conceptual frameworks elaborated in the field of LPP to this day. Rather than stating that policies “move *down*” through administrative levels (Ricento and Hornberger 1996: 417, my italics), I prefer the idea of policies which travel or move *through* policy layers. This avoids suggesting that policy is a top-down process. The concept of “policy trajectory” (Ball 1993) is also particularly useful here in highlighting how policy is a dynamic process which stretches across time (and not just space). Hence language policies evolve and travel through space and time.

3.2.3 Policy creation, interpretation and appropriation

Johnson (2013a) expands the “onion” metaphor by suggesting that each policy layer involves complex processes of creation, interpretation, and appropriation. This is the main theoretical framework which I will use for my research. Johnson’s (2007; 2009; 2011; 2013a) approach to language policy draws extensively on Ball’s (1993) work, which is why the latter is also referenced in this section.

Firstly, it is important to insist that policies are created, interpreted and appropriated *within* each policy layer and not just *across* levels: “while these processes might line up with the different levels of educational language policy (federal/creation, state/interpretation, local/appropriation), in reality they can all occur at every level” (Johnson and Johnson 2014: 5). Indeed, policy texts are not only created at the national level. Universities may also create, for instance, their own language policy documents. Similarly, all policy actors interpret language policy texts, not just those who are meant to implement the policy. However, this study focuses primarily on the process of creation at the national level and the processes of interpretation and appropriation in the university context since the overall aim is to explore how Article 2 has been recontextualised in a particular university setting.

The *creation* category covers “how and why language policies are created” (Johnson 2013a: 224). In other words, it involves understanding how a policy text was arrived at and the rationale behind it. Johnson (2013a) suggests studying the drafting process of a bill and tracing the various revisions and modifications as policy-making is a bricolage process which involves “borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere” (Ball 1998: 126). The textual transformations (e.g. insertions or deletions) can be revealing and provide insight into the process of policy formulation.

As chapter 5 will show, the first draft of Article 2 is significantly different from the final version. During the creation process, interested parties and pressure groups strive to influence key policy concepts and shape policy discourse in particular directions. This is most evident in parliamentary debates. Analysing political debates can help reveal how texts are the product of compromise. Johnson's (2013a) approach to policy creation is particularly dynamic in that he does not view policy texts as fixed linguistic objects but as sites of struggle. By emphasising how national policy texts are negotiated, debated, drafted through interaction, he draws attention to the human action behind policy documents. Even though policy texts may never be read by teachers, analysing the process of creation is a way of uncovering the discourses within and without the policy text (Johnson 2009). Chapter 5 provides insight into how the most sensitive topics around EMI were debated in Parliament and the extent to which these negotiations are reflected in the final written policy document.

By the time a policy text is arrived at, it is a collection of voices: "some policies, quite literally, have a background made up of contradictory opinions, especially when they are created by committees or statutory law-making bodies (like parliaments and legislatures) known for debate and controversy" (Johnson 2015: 168). This is notably the case with Article 2 which was highly controversial and debated in Parliament over a period of three months. Since policy texts are reworked over time by many different actors and "are rarely the work of single authors" they are subject to a plurality of readings (Ball 1993: 11). The process of *interpretation* is thus characterised by a multiplicity of possible interpretations. Each policy text thus becomes "open to diverse interpretations, both by those who created it, and by those who are expected to appropriate it in practice" (Johnson and Johnson 2014: 5). Furthermore, policies are not exhaustive in that they do not tell teachers exactly what to do. Rather policy texts are problems which have to be solved by practitioners: "Policies pose problems to their subjects. Problems that must be solved in context" (Ball 1993: 12). Article 2, for instance, states that programmes in English can only be "partly" taught in English. What "partly" actually means is a matter of personal judgement. As a result, policies are often hit and miss affairs (Ball 1998). Ball (1993: 12) stresses how it is impossible to control or predict how policy will be received and acted on since responses are creative and "involve productive thought, invention and adaptation".

The process of *appropriation* refers to how a policy is put into action. While interpretation and appropriation are closely related, Johnson (2013a: 232) differentiates the two by arguing that appropriation depends on interpretation. Johnson (2013a) uses the term “appropriation” rather than “implementation” to emphasise the creative ways in which agents enact a policy:

Appropriation, of course, highlights the way creative agents ‘take in’ elements of policy, thereby incorporating these discursive and institutional resources into their own schemes of interest, motivation, and action. Appropriation is a kind of taking of policy and making it one’s own. (Levinson and Sutton 2001: 3)

Hence, the process of appropriation emphasises the way in which teachers adopt and adapt policies to their own immediate context. For example, they may ignore, deliberately misunderstand, select, conform to or contest policy prescriptions. As they negotiate policy texts, they effectively change their meaning. In a way local actors recreate policies through their own interpretations. Thus policy appropriation may or may not reflect official policy intentions. Texts are therefore shaped by all actors, those who contribute to the text production as well as those who engage in the creative processes of meaning making and interpretation.

3.3 An “ethnography of language policy”

One of the main challenges in the field of LPP, in terms of methodology, has been to find a way of making connections across the multiple levels of policy activity (Hornberger and Johnson 2011; Hult 2010; Ricento 2000). While the vast majority of scholars accept that policy is a multi-layered process, showing how “onion” layers “permeate and interact with each other in multiple complex ways” (Ricento and Hornberger 1996: 419) remains a central question. Hornberger and Johnson (2007) propose the “ethnography of language policy” as a theory and method for examining the multiple layers of creation, interpretation, and appropriation of policy. Their approach foregrounds the agency of those who have traditionally been positioned as implementers and repositions them as active policy interpreters, appropriators, and creators. They view language policy as “an interconnected process generated and negotiated through policy texts and discourse—as opposed to an authoritative product whose implementation is unvaried” (Johnson 2009: 156). As discussed in section 3.2.3, individuals engage with policy in diverse and unpredictable ways. The “ethnography of language policy” precisely allows for an investigation of how people

actually put policies into practice. This methodology is thus particularly suited for this research as Article 2 says nothing about what EMI is or what it should be like. It is entirely up to each university and individual teacher to enact their own vision of EMI. Through the “ethnography of language policy”, this study aims to understand the complex processes involved in the recontextualisation of Article 2.

3.3.1 Ethnography or ethnographic perspective?

Since the 1990s and especially the 2000s, there has been an increasing number of researchers using ethnographic methods to study language policy “in action” so to speak (Hult and Johnson 2015). These ethnographers are first and foremost concerned with developing an understanding of the community’s perspective and are interested in providing a grass-roots account of language practices: “while LPP is about how things ‘ought to be’, ethnography is about what ‘is’” (Canagarajah 2006: 153). Ethnographic studies have been crucial in providing insight into how local communities live out language policy in their everyday lives: “marginalized subjects are resisting established policies, constructing alternative practices that exist in parallel to the dominant policies and, sometimes, initiate changes that transform unequal relationships” (Canagarajah 2006: 154). Hornberger’s (1988) work on Quechua language and bilingual education in Peru is considered one of the first ethnographic studies in the field. Others have explored how official policies have been locally resisted or contested (Canagarajah 1995; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Manyak 2006; Varghese 2004), have had unintended consequences (Jaffe 1999), have partly failed (Blommaert 2005a), have reinforced social inequalities (Ramanathan 2005) or have opened spaces for multilingual education (Hill and May 2011; Martin-Jones 2011; see edited volume McCarty 2011). These studies have provided rich accounts of how language policy “on paper” gets translated “on the ground”. Ethnographic methodology not only illuminates the tensions which exist between policy and practice but also helps uncover the “indistinct voices and acts of individuals in whose name policies are formulated” (Canagarajah 2006: 154).

However, Johnson (2013a) differentiates the “ethnography of language policy” from traditional ethnographic approaches to language policy. Traditional ethnographic studies typically involve spending an extended period of time in a *particular* setting. The “ethnography of language policy” in comparison is “preferably multi-sited” since

policy occurs across multiple contexts (Johnson 2013a: 145). Simply put, ethnographic approaches (or studies) are more concerned with practice rather than policy *per se*. The aforementioned so-called “ethnographic studies”, tend to prioritise one policy context: “studies done in classrooms or schools may reveal language practices [...] but unless the researcher incorporates participants at diverse levels of institutional authority, they cannot account for how policy is created, interpreted and appropriated outside the classroom” (Johnson 2015: 171). Hence what characterises the “ethnography of language policy” is that the object of study is not a culture or a people but a policy: “the goal is not an insider’s account of a policy *per se*, but an account of how human agents engage with LPP processes” (Johnson 2013a: 145). In other words, the ethnographer is interested in revealing how human agents make sense of language policy texts and how their perspectives, beliefs and practices may impact appropriation. In short, the focus of the “ethnography of language policy” is policy processes in multiple contexts. Since this study intends to explore how Article 2 (and related discourses) moves through national, institutional and interpersonal levels, the “ethnography of language policy” methodology is the most appropriate.

For this study, I could have chosen to focus solely on the university context. Following the example of previous ethnographic studies, I could have provided an in-depth account of how Article 2 has been locally recontextualised and put into action. However, part of the reason I chose to study Article 2 at the national *and* local level is that France has a highly centralised national education system. In theory, all matters to do with education (including language) are controlled and dictated by the state. Indeed, the state has the power to impose language policy decisions on all higher education institutions (both public and private). Thus French language policy has to be understood within this context. The centralised nature of French language policy in part influenced my decision to undertake a multi-layered approach to EMI. Given the supposedly tight control of the state, I wanted to explore the extent to which policy decisions issued at the “top” were in accordance with policy practices at the “bottom”, to what extent policy discourses circulating at the national level were similar to the discourses circulating within the university. The “ethnography of language policy” proposed by Johnson (2013a), which focuses on multiple policy layers, was thus particularly suited for this.

Yet Johnson's (2013a) distinction between what qualifies as an "ethnography" and what qualifies as an ethnographic approach/study remains unclear since all the studies in some way relate micro-level practices to wider policy texts and discourses. Furthermore, Johnson (2013a: 145) acknowledges that multi-sited research may not count as "true ethnography". I am therefore prudent in framing this study as an "ethnography".

Green and Bloome (2004), discussing contemporary ethnography, ask the question: "what counts as ethnography?". They come up with three categories: "doing ethnography", "adopting an ethnographical perspective" and "using ethnographic tools". The first involves conducting a broad, in-depth and long term study. The second involves taking a more focused approach while drawing on theories derived from anthropology and sociology. Finally, "using ethnographic tools" refers to employing specific methods and techniques usually associated with fieldwork. I do not claim to conduct a full-blown ethnography. Rather, this study takes an ethnographic "perspective" to language policy.

As Oberhuber and Krzyżanowski (2008: 182) put it, ethnography "has become a designate of a certain research perspective". In discourse-oriented studies, ethnographic research is no longer a question of studying a local community, it is about seeking a method for analysing connections between levels and exploring how social processes work in different sites (Oberhuber and Krzyżanowski 2008: 186). Taking an ethnographic perspective is thus a way of approaching and understanding a social phenomenon. Not only does this include using typical methods from the ethnographic toolbox (e.g. interviews, participant observation, fieldnotes), it involves viewing all data as micro-level instances of discursive action. In other words, all data, no matter at what level it is collected (e.g. classroom or Parliament), becomes "local". Hult (2010: 18) argues that there is a risk that the multiple moment-by-moment interactions involved in national policy writing or debating may be overlooked if national policies are framed as macro-level phenomena. He suggests that the micro-macro distinction should be used with caution as the distinction itself is an analytic artefact open to potential reductionist simplification.

Wodak (2000), for instance, studied the co-construction of an EU-policy paper on unemployment by analysing EU policy group meetings. She shows how the committee meetings influenced the drafting process of the policy paper. By tracing the textual transformations of the policy paper, she illustrates how various discursive elements from the meetings had been recontextualised into the different versions of the policy document and concludes that the final policy paper is “a condensing of all these written and oral interventions, reformulating, adding, rearranging, deleting and substituting contents and formulations” (Wodak 2000: 78). Her analysis is further informed by interviews that she conducted with senior EU policy makers. Such an approach enabled her to develop an in-depth understanding of EU decision making.

Even though I adopt Johnson’s (2013a) “ethnography of language policy” as a methodology, I understand “ethnography” as a research perspective (and not in its traditional sense as a disciplinary paradigm and practice). Thus the process of agenda setting, policy formulation and policy enactment are understood through an ethnographic lens.

3.3.2 Marrying power and agency

There has been a tendency in the LPP literature to either focus on policy as a mechanism of power which perpetuates systems of social inequality or on the power of local educators to adapt and resist. While critical approaches to language policy have been useful in understanding how policies have the power to marginalise certain groups, they have tended to underestimate human agency (Ricento and Hornberger 1996). Conversely, some accounts perhaps overemphasise the space for creativity. Ball (1993; 2006) recognises that texts are created, produced and interpreted within specific socio-political and historical contexts. His notion of “policy as discourse” stresses this element of constraint:

Discourses are about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority [...] Thus, certain possibilities for thought are constructed. Words are ordered and combined in particular ways, and other combinations are displaced or excluded. (Ball 1993: 14)

Discourses frame interpretations and agency is therefore only possible within “the rules of the game” (Offe 1984: 106, cited in Ball 1993). Although Johnson (2015: 178-179) does not view local teachers as “trapped in dominant discourses” over which they have no control, he nevertheless acknowledges that “policy as discourse is a powerful

mechanism that introduces a formidable structure”. He thus simultaneously recognises interpretative agency (i.e. the power for individuals to make policy on their own terms) as well as the inherent power of policy texts and discourses to set discursive boundaries.

The “ethnography of language policy” proposes to resolve this tension by “marrying a critical approach with a focus on agency, and by recognising the power of both societal *and* local policy texts, discourses and discourses” (Hornberger and Johnson 2011: 280). An ethnographic understanding of language policy can help reveal how power and agency operate throughout *all* policy layers. For instance, by appropriating dominant discourses, teachers may contribute to the reproduction of asymmetrical relations. Conversely, chapter 5 will show how dominant discourses can also be resisted and contested at the national level (in Parliament) and not just in local settings. Whether policy actors adopt, adapt or contest dominant discourses, the point is that all actors actively take part and engage in language policy processes. The “ethnography of language policy” thus provides a balance between critical analyses of policy power and interpretative agency.

3.4 Combining concepts of CDA with the “ethnography of language policy”

In order to illuminate the connections between policy layers, Johnson (2011) suggests combining the “ethnography of language policy” with Critical Discourse Analysis (or CDA).²³ In recent years, it has become increasingly common in the field of LPP to combine ethnographic methods with discursive analytical tools (Hult and Johnson 2015). Even though the “ethnography of language policy” foregrounds human agency while CDA tends to focus on how social structures shape discourse, the combination of the two can be seen as complementary.

One of the fundamental differences between CDA and the “ethnography of language policy” is that ethnography takes a grounded approach whereas CDA determines the nature of the problem in advance. For example, a CDA researcher may decide to investigate discourses of discrimination in national language policy documents. The

²³ CDA is taken here to mean the “school” of CDA which encompasses numerous approaches stemming from different traditions (Hallidayan systemic-functional linguistics, cognitive-linguistics, argumentation theory etc.). In this section I refer to the general salient principles of CDA.

object of study is in this sense pre-selected. Conversely, the ethnographer will seek to develop an understanding of how individuals make sense of national language policy documents in their daily routines. If discourses of discrimination are found, it is because they have emerged from the data. In this respect, the combination of the two approaches may appear incompatible. This is why I only adopt certain key concepts from CDA and do not subscribe to the entire school of thought.

3.4.1 Discourse as a social practice

CDA is primarily interested in shedding light on social inequalities and challenging unequal power relations. More specifically, it aims to reveal how discourse, ideology and power are intertwined. The main assumption underpinning most CDA approaches is that language is *socially shaped* as well as *socially shaping* (Fairclough 1989). Processes of social change and reproduction are thus in part reflected and observable in discourse. Discourse is most commonly defined as “language use in speech and writing” and conceived as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258).²⁴ If we consider that language policies are discursive events which are socially shaped and socially shaping then analysing language policies can tell us something about social practices. As Hult (2010: 9) notes:

Language policies are, after all, “cultural constructs” that develop through the same social processes that shape all human activity (Schiffman 1996: 22). As such, language policies are part and parcel of the discursive social contexts of the societies for which they are crafted rather than decontextualized objects.

Language policy texts are created within a specific social and cultural environment. Indeed, any language policy text is “best understood as a social act, a product of the socio-political and historical context in which it exists” (Johnson 2011: 270). As Schiffman (1996: 59) remarks, language policy “is not just a text, a sentence or two in the legal code, it is a belief system, a collection of ideas and decisions and attitudes about language”. Since language policies aim to bring about a desired change or address a perceived problem, studying policy texts can reveal what is considered to be problematic or desirable. In short, by identifying particular “problems” and “solutions”, language policies construct ways of seeing the world. In the case of

²⁴ Theoretical understandings of “discourse” vary across different approaches. Furthermore, “discourse” is often used in several different ways within the same paradigm. However, all approaches seem to have a general definition for “discourse” in the sense of language use or semiotic systems as a social practice.

Article 2 for example, the main problem brought up by politicians is that there are not enough international students who are coming to study in France. Courses in English are presented as a solution to this “problem”. Article 2 does therefore not simply communicate decisions about the conditions under which courses in English are allowed, it transmits values and beliefs about French and English. Furthermore, by establishing the lack of international students as a problem, it presents the increased competition for international students as a legitimate aim. Studying language policies can therefore inform us about wider societal discourses and practices. Because Article 2 is an official legal document issued by a political authority, it is especially imbued with power. Policy documents, especially those vested with authority, may have significant “ideological effects” (Fairclough 2003: 9). Indeed, by privileging certain discourses over others, Article 2 normalises particular discursive representations. Liddicoat (2013) views language policies as instantiations and encapsulations of cultural models that exist in society.

Critical discourse analysts set out to explore the links between texts, discursive practices and social context in order to uncover dominant discourses. Language policy texts in themselves are not powerful, rather it is their production and consumption (i.e. the discursive practice) which may contribute to the reproduction of unequal power relations. Language policy texts in this sense can be regarded as “*traces* of the productive process, and on the other hand as *cues* in the process of interpretation” (Fairclough 1989: 20). In other words, language policies may function ideologically only when they are created and interpreted by human agents.

3.4.2 Ideology

What is of interest here is how discourse (of which text is only a part) functions ideologically. One of the aims of CDA is to demystify ideologies and hegemonic discourses. Ideologies are often analysed in two separate categories: *specific* ideologies, which serve a specific purpose and are carried out by specific groups and *general* ideologies which characterise the totality of a particular system and are operated by every member in that system (Blommaert 2005b: 158). The first have a clear origin and are associated with recognisable groups (e.g. socialism, liberalism, Maoism etc.). The second are, however, much more difficult to locate and are not typically associated with a particular group or political doctrine. These *general*

ideologies tend to be normalised and naturalised patterns of thought and behaviour. They are common sense ways of thinking about the world. It is these “more hidden and latent type of everyday-beliefs, which often appear disguised” which mostly concern CDA researchers (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 8).

Ideology in CDA is more or less associated with the Marxist tradition: “ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Fairclough 2003: 9). When certain beliefs are taken for granted and appear neutral they become hegemonic. Discourse is not in and of itself ideological, however when certain beliefs become unquestioned, discourse is said to function ideologically. Ideology is thus manifested in discourse. CDA is particularly useful in revealing the ideological nature of language policies and how certain discourses and ways of thinking have become normalised. In the final discussion chapter I shall return to the notion of *specific* vs. *general* ideologies by invoking Mannheim (1936).

3.4.3 Intertextual chains

One of the main concerns of CDA is finding out how certain discourses become dominant in the first place. The ways in which ideologies circulate across different policy layers can be traced through an intertextual analysis (see section 4.3.7.1). Briefly, intertextuality means that texts are linked to other texts, both past and present. By analysing how texts form an “intertextual chain” (Fairclough 1995: 77), it is possible to gain insight into how discourses are reproduced throughout different policy contexts. For example, chapter 8 illustrates how discourses on “attractiveness”, which originate in EU policy documents, permeate all levels of policy activity, forming an intertextual chain. The concept of intertextuality thus serves to demonstrate how local policy discourses relate to dominant discourses. However, dominant discourses are never completely stable or uncontested. An intertextual analysis therefore not only serves to highlight the resemblances among texts but also the transformational processes they undergo. Hence CDA enables us to see how ideologies circulate and evolve over time.

3.4.4 Recontextualisation

Another key concept from CDA which I draw on is the concept of “recontextualisation”. It is especially useful in understanding why EMI is implemented in different ways across various settings. When a policy text is taken out of a specific context and then reinserted into a new context it is effectively “de-contextualised” and then “re-contextualised”. The recontextualisation of Article 2 thus refers to the process by which human agents make sense of the policy within their own immediate environment. As a result, policy actors draw on certain discourses to suit their own needs, objectives or aspirations. Article 2 is thus no longer understood within the parliamentary context but is interpreted and appropriated within the university context. For example, chapter 8 shows how certain discourses from the parliamentary debates get recontextualised in the interviews while others get suppressed or silenced. The way in which texts draw on other texts and assemble various textual elements in new and creative ways necessarily involves change.

For Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), recontextualisation is a colonization/appropriation dialectic. The process of “appropriation” highlights the fact that even in the process of “colonization”, elements enter into a new environment and are appropriated by social agents. In other words, if a certain discourse occurs throughout all policy layers this does not mean that it is merely repeated. Elements are not simply copy-and-pasted, rather they are transformed in the new context. For example, politicians and teachers may both talk about the “need for universities to be attractive”, however this may mean very different things for both groups. Although the discourse on “attractiveness” may appear to have colonised the local university environment, processes of appropriation have still taken place. Chouliaraki and Fairclough’s (1999) understanding of “appropriation” here fits in well with Johnson’s (2013a) definition of “appropriation” (section 3.2.3). In both cases, local actors are not viewed as passive ideological subjects who perpetuate their own subjugation rather they are seen as taking an active role in the process of recontextualisation.

I take “recontextualisation” to be a transformative process whereby elements of discourse acquire new meanings as they get transferred from one domain to another (Blackledge 2006; Reisigl and Wodak 2001):

The process of recontextualization transforms the meaning of a text by either expanding upon or adding to the meaning potential or, perhaps, suppressing and filtering particular meanings. The nature of this transformation relies both on links to past texts and discourses as well as the current ideological zeitgeist within the new context. (Johnson 2013a: 161)

Hence discourses are never fixed (Blackledge 2006). As policies travel through different levels, discourses are variously taken up, appropriated, filtered, modified, ignored or contested.

However, Fairclough (2010: 95) stresses the fact that the space for transformation is limited:

The seemingly limitless possibilities of creativity in discursive practice suggested by the concept of interdiscursivity—an endless combination and recombination of genres and discourses—are in practice limited and constrained by the state of hegemonic relations and hegemonic struggle.

Fairclough is suggesting here that discourse exerts a conditioning (as opposed to “determining”) influence on social actors. This implies that the meanings people attribute to texts are to some extent constrained and conditional upon relations of power.²⁵ Furthermore, the fact that certain discourses occur over and over again may suggest that there are powerful discursive mechanisms at play. Especially when transformed in authoritative contexts (such as universities), discourses can become increasingly powerful (Blackledge 2006). The combination of CDA and the “ethnography of language policy” thus offers a balance between a critical understanding of hegemonic processes and an ethnographic understanding of language policy appropriation:

While CDA is effective in establishing intertextual and interdiscursive links between policy texts and discourses, ethnography is essential for contextualizing the data and understanding why language policies are recontextualized in particular ways in particular contexts. Ethnography reveals *why* the intertextual and interdiscursive connections exist and what they *mean* for local participants. (Johnson 2011: 277)

Hence CDA and ethnography together have the potential for highlighting how Article 2 has evolved and travelled through space and time.

²⁵ This ties in closely with Ball’s (1993) notion of “policy as discourse” (section 3.3.2).

3.5 The Discourse-Historical Approach

There are numerous approaches to CDA but the one which I draw on for this study is the Discourse-Historical Approach (henceforth DHA). The approach was first developed for the study of anti-Semitism and was later elaborated in a study on racial discrimination against immigrants (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 31). The emphasis is primarily on tracing the (intertextual) history and trajectory of dominant discourses. Although the DHA is mainly used to tackle political discourses, its focus on the historical context is what makes it relevant for this study. Firstly, because of the long history of language policy legislation in France, it seems particularly important that Article 2 should be understood within its historical context. Secondly, the historical dimension seems to align well with Johnson's (2013a) objective of finding out how a policy was arrived at (process of policy "creation", see section 3.2.3). In this sense I highlight how Article 2 of the Fioraso Law is an extension of the 1994 Toubon Law which is itself a reformulation of the 1975 Bas-Lauriol Law. Finally, I attempt to trace certain discourses back through history when this can help uncover why some discourses are privileged and others marginalised. For example, the discourse on "rayonnement" is traced back to the beginning of the 20th century (see chapter 8).

Furthermore, I adopt the DHA four-level context model to guide my analysis of Article 2. This involves looking at:

1. The immediate language or text (e.g. Article 2)
2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses (e.g. links between the Fioraso Law and the Toubon Law or EU policies)
3. The extra-linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific "context of situation" (e.g. Université Joseph Fourier)
4. The broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (e.g. the history of French language policy in higher education)

(Adapted from Wodak and Fairclough 2010: 25)

Applying these levels of context is essential in understanding how Article 2 does not arrive "out of the blue" (Ball 1993: 11). Policy texts are situated in wider socio-political and historical contexts. Taking these contexts into account is crucial in understanding why EMI is recontextualised in different ways in different countries.

Processes of creation, interpretation and appropriation are thus seen as embedded in these contexts.

In this study I use the term “discourse” in two ways. Drawing on Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 28), I first conceive “discourse” as primarily topic-related. For example, I talk about discourses on “Francophonie” or discourses on “attractiveness”. Discourses are viewed as open and porous since they can be mixed with topics from other discourses. For example, chapter 8 shows how the discourse on “democratisation” is combined with the discourse on “employability”. The notion of textual mixing or hybridity is viewed as part of the recontextualisation process whereby different textual elements are assembled together in new contexts. Secondly, when I use the terms “dominant discourses” or “hegemonic discourses”, it is to highlight the way these discourses function ideologically (see section 3.4.2).

In order to deconstruct specific dominant discourses, the DHA primarily concentrates on studying the “discursive strategies” of texts (see section 4.3.3). Lawton (2008), for example, explores the discursive strategies used by the English-only proponents in the United States. Using the DHA, she shows how low English proficiency is associated with educational failure and how the English language is constructed as a unifying force. In a similar fashion, the DHA can help reveal the discourses surrounding EMI.

While the DHA is perhaps one of the most linguistically oriented approaches in CDA, it also postulates that fieldwork and ethnography should be incorporated for a thorough analysis of the object under investigation (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 32). Wodak and Savski (2017), who specifically discuss the “discourse-ethnographic approaches” to language policy, restate the importance of ethnographic fieldwork in the DHA. The DHA is in this sense compatible with the “ethnography of language policy”: “an ethnography of language policy can include textual and historical analyses of policy texts but must be based in an ethnographic understanding of some local context” (Hornberger and Johnson 2007: 528). Even though I apply the DHA to the study of written and spoken texts in my research, I still approach the data from an ethnographic perspective. In the DHA, discourse topics are usually identified in advance. Once selected, the analyst can proceed by analysing the discursive strategies deployed for each topic. Rather than pre-selecting discourse topics, I analysed those which emerged

from the data through thematic analysis. This is why I propose to do a theme-oriented discourse analysis (see chapter 4).

3.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework and the methodology adopted for this study. I demonstrated why Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) metaphor of the "onion" is particularly useful for the analysis of Article 2. Conceptualised as a multi-layered process, Article 2 can be seen to travel from one context to another thereby undergoing processes of transformation. In order to understand how human agents engage with Article 2 at different levels, I decided to take an ethnographic perspective. More specifically, I adopt Johnson's (2013a) "ethnography of language policy" which privileges multi-sited data collection. I explained how this approach is most suited to my research aims. In order to make connections across policy layers, I draw on two main concepts of CDA notably "intertextuality" and "recontextualisation". The reason why I combine CDA with ethnography is that it provides a "balance between structure and agency, between a critical understanding of policy [...] and an ethnographic understanding of the power of the language policy actors" (Johnson 2013b: 2).

Chapter 4

Research design and analytical framework

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 first sets out to explain how I decided on a research design which would capture the multiple layers of policy activity before going on to present the analytical framework. I begin by introducing the ethnographic case study design and then discuss how I went about the data collection. The different phases of the data collection process are laid out along with the methods used for this study. I then move on to the analytical framework and provide a detailed account of how I analysed my three main data sets.

4.2 An “ethnographic” case study design

4.2.1 Selecting the case and “units of analysis”

In the introduction of her book, Duff (2008) lists the salient features which usually characterise the “case study”: the bounded nature of the case, the singular nature of the case, the importance of context, the availability of multiple sources of information, an in-depth analysis and an intensive and holistic description. According to Duff (2008), a “case” can be anything from a person, a school, a country to a language policy. Originally, when I was elaborating the research design, I had identified the Université Joseph Fourier (UJF) as the singular “case”. The idea was to conduct an “instrumental case study” (Stake 2005) whereby the study of the UJF would provide insight into the EMI phenomenon (the university itself was of secondary importance). However, I found that limiting the “case” to the university effectively placed the focus on the institutional level and undermined the national policy context and the process of policy creation. Hence I decided to select Article 2 as the object of study (i.e. the “case”). My case study thus became “intrinsic” (Stake 2005) in the sense that it is the language policy which I wanted a better understanding of (here it is the case itself which is of primary interest).

After having selected the “case” I then proceeded to identify the units of analysis (or focal sites). The case study of Article 2 comprises three main units of analysis (official language policy texts, EMI teachers/university administrators and the EMI classroom)

which coincide with three different policy levels (national, institutional and interpersonal). This falls into Yin's (2003) embedded single-case design where there is one main focus under investigation which contains multiple units of analysis. Figure 1 below represents the embedded case study design and the different units of analysis. Although my research design was inspired by Yin (2003), I do not view the case study design as a strict protocol. Rather, epistemologically speaking, I align myself more with Stake (1995). Stake (1995) recognises the use of protocols yet favours intuition and impression rather than a rigid blueprint: "knowing what leads to significant understanding, recognising good sources of data, and consciously and unconsciously testing out the veracity of their [researchers'] eyes and robustness of their interpretations [...] takes sensitivity and scepticism" (Stake 1995: 50). Determining in advance the actors and levels to be studied therefore still left room for "progressive focusing" (Stake 1981). In other words, the research design informed the data collection process but did not determine it. Hence my case study was data-driven and relied on inductive reasoning.

Each unit of analysis corresponds to a particular research question. Units 1, 2 and 3 are designed to address research questions 1 (process of policy creation), 2 (process of policy interpretation) and 3 (process of policy appropriation) respectively. Using a case study design was a way of limiting the scope of the study: "a major pitfall is having too broad a focus or trying to collect too much data in too many different settings. [...] Rather, one makes informed, selective decisions about settings and participants" (Hult 2015: 221). Rather than seeking comprehensive coverage of every possible policy context, I identified specific units of analysis prior to conducting my fieldwork while keeping in mind that policy "implementation" is messy and unpredictable. It is thus with this open mind-set that I began my data collection.

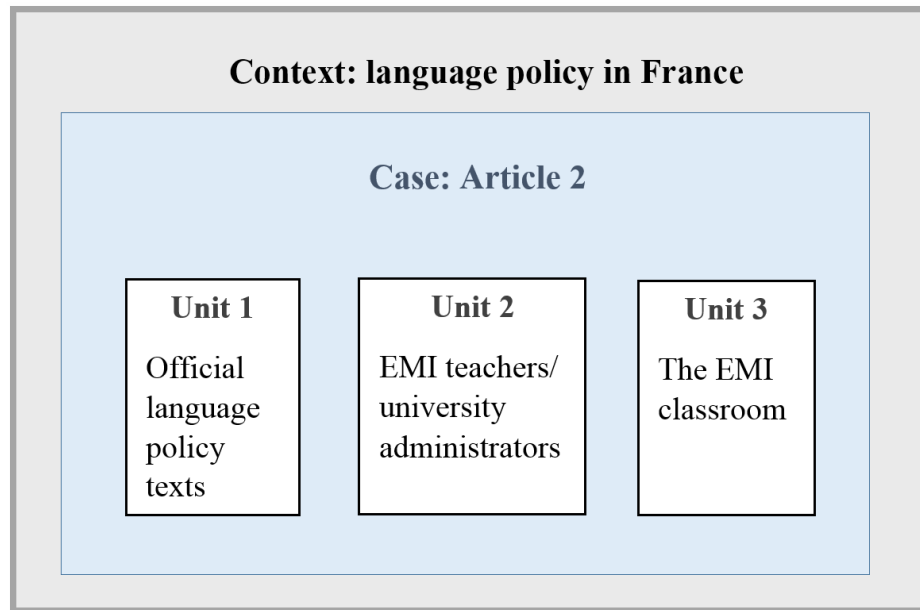


Figure 1. The embedded case study design

4.2.2 Data collection process and methods

After I established the research design, I was able to proceed with the data collection. The data was collected in three stages which I detail below in Table 1. Since the aim of my research was to understand the relationship between policy texts, local interpretations and classroom practices, I had three main data sets which were obtained through the following methods:

- Research question 1: policy text analysis
- Research question 2: interviews
- Research question 3: classroom observation

The data collection process was inspired by Wolcott's (2008) "way of looking and way of seeing". His ethnographic approach involves three "E"s: "experiencing", "enquiring" and "examining". I am not suggesting that my phases neatly fall in line with these categories, however, they informed the research design.

	Phase 1 (online)	Phase 2 (fieldwork 1)	Phase 3 (fieldwork 2)
Main data sets	Collection of language policy "texts"	Interviews with teachers	Classroom observation Interviews with administrators
Background materials	Additional data was collected throughout all data collection phases to inform and contextualise the primary resources		

Table 1. Data collection phases

4.2.2.1 Phase 1: “Examining” official policy texts online

Since the starting point of my research was Article 2, I began by collecting documents at the national level. During the “examining” phase, I collected two types of data: legislative policy texts (i.e. different versions of Article 2) and spoken “texts” (official transcripts of the parliamentary debates). This formed the main data set for research question 1. All these materials were found on official government websites which are accessible to anyone.

For the legislative policy texts I selected four different versions of Article 2 including the initial and final bill: 20th March 2013, 28th May 2013, 12th June 2013 and 3rd July 2013. I chose to include four drafts rather than just the initial and final version to illustrate the policy trajectory and show how the bill was continually revised throughout the parliamentary debates.

As for the parliamentary debates, the official written transcript included over 40,000 words.²⁶ The debates took place at the National Assembly and at the Senate on 26th March 2013, 14th May 2013, 22nd May 2013 and 20th June 2013.

Although Phase 1 was technically the first stage of the data collection process, because all the data was available online, it meant that I could easily go back to the websites to gather more documents. Hence throughout Phases 2 and 3, I continued to collect additional documents, graphs and reports which might help me make sense of the main data set (see section 4.2.2.4 for use of background data).

4.2.2.2 Phase 2: “Enquiring” with interviews

“Enquiring” involves actively asking about what is going on (Wolcott 2008). I chose to interview EMI teachers and senior university administrators. These were key informants who would give me insight into how EMI is locally understood. The reason why I also chose to interview senior university administrators is that they could

²⁶ As stated earlier, Article 2 is only one article out of 69 articles in the Fioraso Law. The 40,000 words encompass only the discussions on Article 2. Because parliamentary debates follow a strict protocol whereby each article is debated successively and ends with a vote, it was easy for me to select the transcript relating to Article 2.

provide me with the official institutional position on EMI. Table 2 below (page 72) provides a list of the participants that I interviewed along with their first language.

After having received permission from the President of the UJF, I proceeded to search for EMI teachers through the university's website. I went into the section "courses in English" and contacted all the teachers responsible for EMI programmes. This is a form of "purposive sampling" and more specifically "homogeneous sampling" in that the group selected has a characteristic in common: they all teach courses in English (Dörnyei 2007). I originally sent out ten emails and six teachers agreed to do an interview. Two extra participants were selected through "snowball" sampling, having been suggested by already selected informants (Dörnyei 2007). In total I interviewed eight EMI teachers.

Originally, I had designed a fairly structured interview schedule for purposes of comparability. However, my questions allowed little flexibility and I decided that if I wanted to gain insight into how teachers make sense of EMI, the interview should be more open. Hence I adopted a much more flexible semi-structured interview format with open-ended questions. Even though I had prepared some guiding questions, departing from the schedule was not seen as a problem (Silverman 2013). This approach enabled me to ask the same key questions to all participants while remaining flexible. I let the participants talk about whatever they wanted, occasionally steering them back with certain questions and when I wanted to find out more about something they had said I asked a follow-up question. The idea was to see what they wanted to talk about as well as asking them what I wanted to know. Although the interviews were intended to explore the process of policy interpretation, I did not ask participants directly about Article 2. Whilst participants had most likely heard of the Fioraso Law or read about it, it was not certain that they had actually read the legal text. I therefore tried to find out about their perceptions, beliefs and experience with EMI. The interview schedule was designed around four specific areas of inquiry (teacher/student proficiency in English, impact of EMI on academic content, teacher experience of EMI and reasons for introducing EMI) each of which included pre-prepared questions (see appendix 2). However all questions were asked in a different order and phrased slightly differently to each participant (but addressed the same topics).

Participants	First language
Vittorio	Italian
Rachel	French
Carl	English
Philippe	French
Stéphanie	French
Matthieu	French
Pia	German
Béatrice	French
Nathalie	French
Pierre	French

Table 2. List of participants and their first language

At the start of each interview, I asked the participants whether they preferred to do the interview in English or French (since not all participants were French). Each interview was audio-recorded and lasted, on average, approximately 55 minutes. Table 3 shows the date, the time, the duration and the language in which the interviews were conducted.

Teachers	Date	Time of interview	Duration of interview	Language of interview
Vittorio	24 th Apr 2015	5.30pm	1:00:37	English
Rachel	29 th Apr 2015	9am	50:55	French
Carl	4 th May 2015	10am	50:52	English
Philippe	4 th May 2015	2pm	40:25	French
Stéphanie	12 th May 2015	9.30 am	1:08:49	French
Matthieu	12 th May 2015	11.30am	52:47	French
Pia	12 th May 2015	2pm	58:35	French
Béatrice	12 th May 2015	5.30pm	1:04:26	English
Administrators				
Nathalie	16 th Oct 2015	9.45am	53:01	French
Pierre	3 rd Nov 2015	5pm	53:13	French

Table 3. Interviews with teachers and university administrators

As for the university administrators, I had originally planned to interview the President of the UJF as well as the Vice President of International Relations (VPIR) during Phase 2 (at the same time as the teachers), however I decided to wait until I had finished interviewing all the teachers. These interviews were therefore conducted last as I wanted to get a prior understanding of what was happening in the university before interviewing these key figures. Hence I interviewed the two university administrators during the second part of my fieldwork (in Phase 3). I chose these two participants because of the particular role they have within the university. As senior figures of the

university, I hoped to elicit the institutional perspective on EMI. At the same time, both also taught (or had taught) courses in English in parallel to their administrative positions. They could therefore share their views not only as official representatives of the university but also as EMI teachers.

These interviews were semi-structured and focused on several areas of inquiry (rationale for introducing EMI programmes, university's language policy, teacher/student proficiency in English, impact of EMI on academic content, main challenges of EMI; see appendix 3). The interviews with the EMI teachers also partly informed these two semi-structured interviews. For example, there seemed to be some confusion amongst EMI teachers about the difference between “international programmes” and “programmes taught in English”. Hence I directly asked Nathalie and Pierre what the official difference was. Both interviews lasted around 50 minutes (see Table 3 above).

Finally, I interviewed Minister Fioraso, the main figure behind the Fioraso Law on 18th May 2015.²⁷ At the time she was an MP for the city of Grenoble which enabled me to get access to her. I wrote to her constituency office asking for an interview (see appendix 4). I received an answer by email from her parliamentary attaché a few days later saying the Minister had agreed to see me. Because this was an “elite interview” where the power dynamics are reversed, I thought it necessary to conduct a highly structured interview (Edwards and Holland 2013). Not only had I studied her interventions in Parliament, I had also read previous interviews she had given to the media about the Article 2 controversy. I therefore had a fairly good idea of the way she would respond to certain questions and where she would try and lead the discussion. To avoid the “bland, public relations type responses” (Edwards and Holland 2013: 84), I asked her very specific questions (see appendix 6). Furthermore, I did not hesitate to challenge evasive answers or to interrupt when necessary to prevent losing complete control over the interview. This enabled me to find out about her position regarding EMI as well as the process of policy creation. Initially, I had included the interview in the main data set, however I decided to use it as an interpretative resource which would inform my overall understanding of Article 2.

²⁷ The interview lasted 26 min 11 sec.

4.2.2.3 Phase 3: “Experiencing” with non-participant observation

Wolcott (2008: 59) distinguishes between “enquiring” and “experiencing” by suggesting that the latter involves a more passive stance: “it is one thing to attend to the flow of natural activity and conversation in a group; it is quite another to intrude on or initiate activities and conversations with those among whom we study”. I decided to conduct non-participant observation and take “the fly on the wall” approach for the following reasons (Wolcott 2008). Getting access to the EMI classroom would have been extremely difficult if I had intended to actively take part in classes. As stated in section 4.2.4, I did not know any of the teachers or students prior to the research, which means I would have had to build rapport with the teachers and students to become fully accepted as part of the “community”. Furthermore, I did not want to disrupt the class or interfere in any way. Remaining uninvolved and detached made my presence less intrusive. The extent to which I was a *non-participant* observer varied, since from time to time, as I show later on in the data analysis chapters, I was drawn into teaching activities by participants that I was observing.

In total I observed 14 hours of EMI classes from October to November 2013. The observation design was in part informed by my initial interview findings with the teachers. The way in which prior findings inform subsequent data collection illustrates how “data collection and analysis are intertwined such that ongoing analysis results in new insights which, in turn, guide further data collection” (Hult 2015: 221). The salient themes which emerged from the interviews led me to focus my attention on the following: “everything is in English”, “EMI is not a problem” and “EMI is about teaching science not English”. Hence I paid attention to language choices, potential communicative problems and language-related remarks. At first, I had not planned this in my initial research design but this enabled me to have a more defined focus (Wragg 1999). However, these preliminary themes served merely as guidelines rather than as a structured observation schedule. Hence the observation schedule which I designed had extremely broad categories (teacher, students, course design/materials, language issues, classroom interaction and general observations; see appendix 9).

All classroom observations were recorded although I only selectively transcribed some passages: “selective transcription may be sufficient when combined with analytical memos, field notes, content analysis, or other complementary techniques” (Hult 2015:

227). A comprehensive transcription of all the audio-recorded data was not necessary in this case as the aim was not to do a micro-discourse analysis of classroom interaction. Rather, I aimed to capture the bigger picture. I wanted to provide a descriptive account of how EMI is put into action (i.e. what EMI looks like in practice). During the observations, I took “narrative field notes” (Dörnyei 2007: 179) in order to describe what I saw. This “description” is necessarily biased and selective as I could not focus on everything that was going on. I nevertheless tried to contextualise the data as much as possible by providing rich descriptions (see appendices 10 and 11). I managed to attend eight classes in total taught by six different teachers. For reasons of timing and exam schedules, it was not possible for me to observe all the teachers interviewed. Carl, who was especially interested in my project, asked several colleagues whether I could observe some of their classes. Through snowball sampling I therefore managed to observe two of Julien’s classes. Although I had not interviewed Julien, observing him proved very enriching as the 15th October class was the only instance when I was able to observe a French teacher giving a class in English to an entirely French group of students (all other groups either included international students or had teachers who were not French; see chapter 7). Table 4 below provides the dates of the classroom observations, the time spent in the classroom and the subjects observed.

Name	Date	Time spent observing	Subject
Stéphanie	13 th Oct 2015	2 hours	Engineering
Julien	14 th Oct 2015	1.5 hours	Biology
	15 th Oct 2015	2 hours	Chemistry
Carl	16 th Oct 2015	1.5 hours	Chemistry
	13 th Nov 2015	1.5 hours	Chemistry
Matthieu	3 rd Nov 2015	1.5 hours	Chemistry
Pia	4 th Nov 2015	2 hours	Statistics
Vittorio	6 th Nov 2015	2 hours	Engineering

Table 4. Classroom observations

4.2.2.4 Background data

Common sources of data for case studies are interviews, documentation, archival records, observation and physical artefacts (Duff 2008). Throughout the research process, I collected numerous additional background materials which I thought were relevant, with the aim of using them as interpretative resources. This included

unofficial policy documents, official legal reports, newspaper articles, university brochures, press releases, radio talks, TV clips and political speeches. These additional sources of information allowed me to make sense of what was going in the main data sets. Hence throughout the data collection, I gathered as much data as possible which I thought could be relevant for the analysis (see appendix 12 to 21).

Although the main data sets were informed by Wolcott's (2008) "examining", "enquiring" and "experiencing", in practice I also "experienced" while "enquiring" and "enquired"/"examined" while "experiencing". For example, during the classroom observations I took the opportunity to initiate conversations with teachers and students during the break ("opportunity sampling", Dörnyei 2007). These informal conversations are primarily anecdotal but I use them as interpretative resources. However, some of these conversations were audio-taped (with the participants' consent) and I include some extracts in the thesis to contribute to the "thick description" (Geertz 1973). During my fieldwork I also collected and "examined" documents. Hence the three phases served as guidelines for the main data collection while allowing some degree of flexibility.

4.2.3 Research site: Université Joseph Fourier

The main research site was the Université Joseph Fourier (UJF). The university is made up of 17,000 students and is located in the city of Grenoble (France). It is part of the seven institutions which make up the University of Grenoble (60,000 students). The UJF specialises in sciences, health and technology. It is considered one of the leading universities in France. In 2013, the UJF offered four international undergraduate programmes in English and eleven international Master's. The UJF is a state-funded university and, like most public universities in France, does not select its students (only the Baccalauréat is needed for admittance).

Grenoble is located in the Alps in France, approximately one hour away from the city of Lyon. It is considered as one of France's major scientific and technological hubs and is in fact often referred to as the "French Silicon Valley". It is the most important research centre after Paris and has the second largest English-speaking community in France. Grenoble is home to several leading national and international research

institutes as well as multinational companies. It is now considered a centre for innovation, research and start-ups.

4.2.4 My position in the research

Grenoble is my home town and I was a student at Stendhal University (Grenoble) for two years. From 2010 to 2011 I taught English for Specific Purposes (ESP) at the UJF. I was part of the language department called DLST (Département Licence Sciences et Technologies) and therefore only interacted with language specialists. This means that I did not know any of my participants although it probably gave me much easier access to them. Having studied and worked within the main University of Grenoble I had rich prior knowledge about the research context. However, I did not see myself as an “insider” (Wolcott 2008).

Even though the participants knew that I had studied and grown up in France, I was reminded of my “Britishness” on a couple of occasions. During one lesson for example, a teacher directly asked me for a vocabulary word. In another, I was complimented on my accent. Coming from a British university, having studied English literature and taught ESP at the UJF, I was at times positioned as the language expert. While these examples appear trivial, I nevertheless take them into consideration when analysing my data. Throughout the study, I have tried to reflect on how my own background and position may have affected the data collection process as well as the analysis. I also consider how linguistic behaviours may have been influenced by my presence in the classroom (cf. “observer’s paradox”, Labov 1972).

4.3 Analytical framework

Elaborating an analytical framework was a challenge for this study as I had three different data sets which each had to be analysed in a different way. Furthermore, after I had analysed each unit of analysis separately, I then had to make connections across the data sets. In this section I discuss in detail how I analysed the data. However, for greater clarity I have summarised the analytical framework in Table 5:

UNIT 1	UNIT 2	UNIT 3	UNITS 1, 2 and 3
Parliamentary debates	Interviews	Observation	Making connection across data sets
<p>Thematic identification</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coding to highlight salient issues/topics/themes arising from the debate (Mann 2016) • Once the main discourse topics have been identified I proceed with the discursive analysis (Wodak see below) <p>Discursive analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discursive strategies (nomination/referential, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification/mitigation) (Wodak 2016) 	<p>Thematic identification</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coding to highlight salient issues/topics/themes arising from the debate (Mann 2016) • Once the main discourse topics have been identified I proceed with the discursive analysis (Wodak see below) <p>Discursive analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discursive strategies (nomination/referential, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification/mitigation) (Wodak 2016) 	<p>Goffman's (1981) dramaturgy metaphor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Front stage and back stage <p>Gumperz's (1999) contextualisation cues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Code switching 	<p>Discursive analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intertextuality/interdiscursivity (Wodak and Fairclough 2010) • Recontextualisation (Wodak and Fairclough 2010)
<p>Production and reception roles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Production role (Goffman 1981) (includes animator, author, principal) • Receptive role (Scolton 1996) (includes receptor, interpreter, judge) 	<p>Interactional sociolinguistics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gumperz (1999) (prosodic and paralinguistic signs) 		

Table 5. Analytical framework

4.3.1 Working from transcripts

4.3.1.1 Official transcript of the parliamentary debates

I based my analysis on the *written* official transcript of *oral* parliamentary debates. There were some obvious problems with this as the official transcript is not an accurate representation of spoken interaction but rather a “sanitised” script. The available transcript does not include details such as hesitations, false starts, repetitions and fillers like “well” or “mm”. However, it does incorporate some prosodic and paralinguistic elements such as applauding, facial expressions, noise levels and tone is suggested through the use of punctuation such as exclamation marks, making it a rich data set.²⁸ These additional non-verbal features were extremely useful as they rendered the debate livelier and gave a feel for how speakers were often applauded, interrupted and heckled. Transcriptions are never, however, a natural representation of speech (Duff and Roberts 1997). This is why, for the parliamentary debates I did not engage in an analysis of contextually interpreted meaning. The primary aim was to highlight the major topics which emerged from the parliamentary debates, hence a comprehensive transcription was not necessary since the focus of the analysis was on content rather than form.

Nevertheless, in an attempt to work from a slightly more accurate written transcript, I made an online request to view the video recordings of the parliamentary debates. All plenary sessions are video-recorded and available online upon request. Hence the National Assembly sent me the videos of the debates which I was able to watch several times to familiarise myself with the data. Because the video links expired after three days, I did not retranscribe the whole debate (which is over 40,000 words). However, I noted the speech which had been omitted, added or amended. I also made some notes of prosodic and paralinguistic features when I thought they could inform my overall understanding of what was going on. For example, some instances of disagreement between MPs had been removed in the official transcript; I therefore added the deleted comments. At times significant amounts of text had been cut and all comments made in a language other than French had not been transcribed. For instance, one of the MPs starts speaking in English at one point to provoke the opposition. This passage is

²⁸ e.g. “Sourires”; “Applaudissements”; “Vives protestations sur les bancs du groupe UMP” (“Smiles”; “Applause”; “Loud protests from the benches of the UMP group”).

entirely omitted from the original transcript. The register had often been “sanitised” to make it sound more formal and appropriate. All changes were marked in red. Here is an example:

Official version: Enfin, le système n’est pas sans hypocrisie. À Sciences Po, par exemple, des enseignements se font en anglais.

My transcript: Deuxièmement, on est un peu faux cul parce qu’à Sciences Po, où j’enseigne eh bien on parle en anglais.

Official version: In fact, the system is not devoid of hypocrisy. At Sciences Po, for instance, some courses are in English.

My transcript: Secondly, we’re a bit two-faced, at Sciences Po, where I teach, well, we speak in English.

While the videos helped me make sense of the written transcript, I did not actually analyse the videos themselves.

4.3.1.2 Interview transcripts

The act of transcribing is, in itself, a form of analysis as spoken words have been turned into written text. Cameron (2001) explains at length the difficulty of working with spoken discourse. The transcriber has to make decisions about how to lay out talk on the page, decide on whether to use standard spelling or not, and how many prosodic and paralinguistic features to include. These decisions were informed by my research questions and research aims. Doing an extremely fine-grained transcription in the Conversation Analysis (CA) tradition was not necessary as I was primarily interested in how participants talk about EMI. The purpose of the transcription was therefore to highlight which words were used for the discursive construction of EMI. Roberts (n.d. 4) argues that when the focus is on how discourses are produced and circulated in talk, it may be enough to simply transcribe words of talk. However, prosody is central to discourse analysis (Gumperz 1996) and discourses are interactionally produced, so I take basic prosodic and paralinguistic elements into account. I acknowledge that my transcription has been selective and constitutes a particular representation of talk. In this sense my transcription is not a faithful representation of the data (Cameron 2001). Below in Table 6 are the transcription conventions which I used:

Pause	...
Latching	=
Overlap	[]
False start/truncated word	Wor-
Unintelligible	[###]
Uncertain	[#word]
Comment	[words]
Speaker attribution	Initial of participant: ²⁹
Unidentified speaker	X:
Uncertain speaker	(Marianne):
Loud volume/emphasis	WORD

Table 6. Transcription conventions

In appendix 7 I include four samples of interview transcripts (two transcripts with EMI teachers, one transcript with the President of the university and one transcript with Minister Fioraso).

4.3.1.3 Translation

Roberts (n.d.) argues that the very act of recording interviews is a form of abstraction of the data. The act of transcribing further removes the data from its original form. Translation is therefore yet another step away. For this reason, I have analysed the data in its original language. All extracts and quotations which I include in the thesis have been translated for the reader. On the whole, my translations try to stay as close as possible to the original language. However, depending on the purpose of the quotation, I translate accordingly. When I discuss a very specific lexical item in the original text for example, I adopt a more semantic approach to translation. In some instances, I even choose to leave some words in French.³⁰ When I discuss a quote more generally, I translate for transcultural communication. In other words, if the lexical choice is of secondary importance I do not always remain 100% faithful to the original text but prioritise the communicative meaning.

²⁹ I use the initials MB when referring to myself to avoid confusion with the participant named Matthieu.

³⁰ For instance, here is one of my analytical notes about a particularly difficult word to translate: “Rayonnement”: It could be translated by “influence” but this deprives it of its original imagery. Indeed, the word “rayonnement” comes from the verb “rayonner” which means to shine or glow, and from the noun “rayon” which means a beam of light. With its reference to light, sun and beauty, the term evokes a golden age, the age of enlightenment and even has regal connotations (think of Louis XIV who was named the “Roi Soleil”). It essentially refers to the influence of a country, a culture or language which is particularly attractive because of its perceived prestige.

4.3.2 Thematic identification

Before engaging in a detailed discursive analysis of the parliamentary debates and interviews, I first had to identify the salient discourse topics from each respective data set (parliamentary debates and interviews). This would then allow me to conduct a theme-oriented discourse analysis. It is therefore important to remember that the thematic identification was only the first step of the analysis and that a more in-depth discursive analysis followed (section 4.3.3).

4.3.2.1 *The coding process*

To retrieve the main themes from the parliamentary debates and the interviews I used techniques associated with thematic analysis. The aim was to “provide a rich thematic description of [the] entire data set, so that the reader gets a sense of the predominant or important themes” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 11). Drawing on Richards’ (2003) approach to categorisation and coding as well as adapting Mann’s (2016: 212) six-phase model of thematic analysis, I came up with major themes for the parliamentary debates and the interviews respectively. In order to arrive at these data-driven overarching themes I followed a rigorous and systematic coding system which involved: coding the data, looking for patterns and relationships and generating themes. I lay out below the different steps leading to the emergence of core themes. All coding was done through the NVivo software.

4.3.2.2 *Initial coding and reviewing*

After having familiarised myself with the data and having immersed myself in it, I was able to begin the coding process. I use Richards’ (2003: 273) term “initial coding” rather than just “coding” (Mann 2016: 212) because I coded the data in two stages. For Richards (2003: 273), initial coding involves “getting stuck into the data, coding it freely” in order to derive broader categories later on. The aim of this initial coding was to code for the topic of each utterance even if it seemed irrelevant. All codes were in this sense descriptive and purely content-driven. I tried to remain as open as possible and coded the data line by line in order not to miss anything, “leaving any winnowing and sorting until later” (Richards 2003: 273). Although some codes only occurred once or twice, I did not discard any as these could be significant later on in the discussion of my findings. After each utterance I asked myself the following question: “what is

s/he talking about?”. This first level of open coding was primarily about *what* was being discussed. I coded directly into English even if the original text was in French. In terms of the wording chosen for the labels, I used the terminology of the speakers as much as possible to remain close to the data. Because I was trying to be quite precise, some initial codes were at times quite long. Below in Table 7 are some examples of how I coded the data from the parliamentary debates and interviews:

Utterance from parliamentary debates	Code(s)
<p>Beaucoup [d'étudiants] voudraient venir en France, mais se heurtent à l'obstacle de la langue.</p> <p><i>Many [students] would like to come to France but face the language obstacle.</i></p>	<p>French language as an obstacle for international students</p>
<p>On le voit, le débat qui s'est ouvert est essentiel, car il en va, non seulement de la qualité de nos enseignements, mais aussi de l'avenir de notre langue.</p> <p><i>As we can see this debate is essential as not only is the quality of our teaching at stake but also the future of our language.</i></p>	<p>Importance of the debate</p> <p>Quality of teaching</p> <p>Future of French language</p>
Utterance from interviews	Code(s)
<p>On est plus ou moins...on a une maîtrise de l'anglais plus ou moins bonne et...expliquer en détails une notion qui va être parfois abstraite c'est pas forcément évident quand on n'a pas le vocabulaire.</p> <p><i>We are more or less...we have more or less a good command of English and...explaining in detail a notion which may be sometimes abstract it's not that easy when you don't have the vocabulary.</i></p>	<p>Proficiency in English</p> <p>Difficulty explaining concepts in English</p> <p>Lack of vocabulary</p>

Table 7. Examples of coding

After the first phase of coding I reviewed all the codes one by one, refining the labels, adding new codes, removing others or combining them. I obtained over 250 initial codes for the parliamentary debates and approximately 50 initial codes per interview. While the line by line coding suggests a linear approach this was in fact a cyclical, back and forth enterprise. The following step was to organise the codes into categories according to relationships and patterns, effectively, “coding the codes” (Mann 2016: 212) and making the list more manageable.

4.3.2.3 “Coding the codes” and deriving categories

The process of developing categories, according to Richards (2003: 274) involves “standing back and assessing ways in which the data might be organised.” I went through each code to put them into groups according to similar topics. Groups of codes were therefore condensed into wider categories. For the interviews, I proceeded to elaborate categories for each individual interview rather than across all interviews. For example, in one interview, one of the categories was “English in the sciences”, this included codes such as “conferences in English” and “English in the lab”. Since the interviews were semi-structured, some of the categories were in fact close to the areas of inquiry. For instance, when I asked participants whether they had encountered any challenges teaching in English, this generated a number of specific examples which were coded as initial codes (e.g. “longer preparation time”, “feeling tired” etc.). These codes were then categorised as “EMI challenges”.

For the parliamentary debates especially there was inevitably a degree of overlap during this process as some codes featured in several categories but this was in effect already pointing to the emergence of broader themes. For example, the code “improved English language skills” simultaneously featured under the category “economic competitiveness” and “democratic measure”. Gradually, different types of categories began to emerge; however, they still remained “descriptive” and data-driven. I reviewed each category by going back to the coded extracts to make sure the data fit the label, at the same time recoding for anything that I had previously missed. The process of categorising the codes was often messy but what became apparent was that there seemed to be different levels to the categories which started indicating potential themes.

4.3.2.4 Searching for themes

Themes were already beginning to emerge as they “aris[e] out of active searching and assembling, connecting, and relating” (Mann 2016: 212). For the interview data, searching for themes involved looking at the categories across *all* the interviews and finding patterns. Even if one interviewee spoke at length about a topic this did not qualify as a theme since it only occurred in one interview. It appeared that all participants, in one way or another, seemed to discuss the predominant role of English

in the sciences. Indeed, similar categories across all interviews hinted towards this. Secondly, there seemed to be an overall consensus that teaching in English was a straightforward process and generally not a problem.

In order to find relationships between the categories for the parliamentary debates, I wrote down the categories on cards which I placed on the floor and proceeded to group them together.³¹ Differences in terms of “levels” of categories became evident. Categories such as “Francophonie” or “attracting international students” were to do with international issues. On the other hand, other categories seemed to fall more into domestic, national matters (e.g. “national identity” or “universities vs. Grandes Ecoles”). Simply put, two overarching themes were emerging: internationally-oriented topics and nationally-oriented topics. By closely analysing these categories, patterns and relationships became apparent. Through an iterative and reflective process asking questions about what each category was really about, I realised that the parliamentary debates were primarily centred around three axes which I explain in the following section.

4.3.2.5 Defining themes

Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest defining themes as clearly as possible by describing exactly what they are and what they are not. The following themes from the parliamentary debates overlap to a certain degree, which is inevitable since they are all related. However, in an attempt to be as clear as possible, here is how I distinguished between each theme:

- Theme 1 (“EMI for attracting international students”) focuses on the attempt to draw international students into France (outwards→inwards).
- Theme 2 (“EMI for the promotion of Francophonie”) focuses on the projection of France abroad (inwards→outwards).
- Theme 3 (“EMI as a tool for democratisation”) focuses on EMI within France (internal).

Hence I went back to all my categories, checking whether the codes were outward-facing, inward-facing or internal. For instance, under the category “attractiveness” I had included the following codes: “making French universities attractive”, “attracting

³¹ I found this way of visualising the data useful rather than only looking for patterns in NVivo. I also made use of a white board in order to find patterns across categories (see appendix 8).

international students”, “making the French language attractive abroad” etc. These codes were thus reorganised under the appropriate theme and the category was refined and relabelled accordingly (to avoid having the category “attractiveness” featuring twice under two different themes).³² As I will discuss in chapter 5, the first two themes are interrelated and are of equal importance whereas theme 3 is not as consequential. The prominence of the outward and inward-facing themes is evident when analysing the frequency of codes in NVivo. Although frequency can be highly subjective as it depends on how the data is coded, it is nevertheless significant and can contribute to “tell a convincing and compelling story about the data” (Mann 2016: 212).

As for the interviews, three themes emerged:

- Theme 1 (“In science everything is in English”) focuses on the general role of the English language in the sciences.
- Theme 2 (“EMI is not a problem”) focuses on teachers’ experiences of teaching in English.
- Theme 3 (“Exclusively in English”) focuses on the teachers’ beliefs that ideally, EMI courses and programmes should be 100% in English.

Theme 1 includes general statements about the importance of English in the sciences (scientific research, conferences, international collaboration, future scientific careers of students etc.). Theme 2 incorporates all the arguments used to show that teaching in English is not really regarded as a problem (this includes comments about teachers’ proficiency in English and the focus on scientific content for instance). Theme 1 and theme 2 naturally overlap since part of the teachers’ argument that EMI is not a problem concerns the fact that they are used to everything being in English in the sciences. However, the way I differentiated the two themes is that I included in theme 1 general remarks about the status of English in the sciences. Theme 2 is more specific in that teachers evoke their own experiences of teaching in English or their own proficiency in English. In other words, theme 2 is more personal than theme 1. Finally, theme 3 is about teachers’ views on language use in the EMI classroom, notably the belief that, ideally, courses and programmes should be exclusively in English.

The search for themes is a form of extrapolation of the data where codes are turned into themes which then become decontextualized. Throughout the entire process I

³² This happened with a number of categories. Another example includes the category “multilingualism”. The codes “multilingualism to access emerging markets” and “multilingualism for French students” could no longer be grouped together as one was outward-facing and the other inward-facing.

continually referred back to the data extracts in order to analyse the codes and categories within their context.

4.3.3 Discursive strategies

Each theme was then discussed separately and in relation to the discursive strategies used for the discursive construction of EMI.³³ I analysed the data by looking at five discursive strategies (Reisigl and Wodak 2001):

1. Nomination strategies (discursive construction)
2. Predication strategies (discursive characterisation or qualification)
3. Argumentation strategies (what arguments are employed)
4. Perspectivization strategies (positioning of speaker, his/her involvement or distance)
5. Intensification or mitigation strategies (modifies illocutionary force of utterances)

When approaching these strategies, I followed Reisigl and Wodak's (2001: 32) guiding questions. For example, I ask myself the following questions when analysing discourses about the English language:

1. How is "English" named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities or features are attributed to "English"?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse about "English"?
4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated?

I briefly give some examples from my data in Table 8 below to illustrate how I applied Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) framework. These questions served as guidelines rather than as a strict protocol since some of these categories necessarily overlap. For instance, by referring to English as "Globish" (nomination strategy) this also contributes to building an argument against EMI (argumentation strategy). Since the primary aim of the parliamentary debates is to argue for or against certain proposals, I pay particular attention to the argumentation strategies when analysing this particular data set. Furthermore, as discussed above, I frequently analyse other discursive strategies as argumentation strategies in themselves. In this sense I agree with Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012: 23) remarks that "argumentation strategies"

³³ Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 33) define "strategy" as "a more or less intentional plan of practice adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal".

cannot be viewed as a category of the same order as “predication strategies” for instance.

Discursive strategies	Purpose
Nomination	<p>Discursive construction of “English”</p> <p>anglais, sabir, globish, un langage technique, la langue anglaise, anglais de spécialité, the language of science</p> <p><i>English, pidgin, Globish, a technical language, the English language, English for Specific Purposes, the language of science</i></p>
Predication	<p>Discursive characterisation/qualification of “English”</p> <p>Langue en déclin, langage international appauvri, globish réducteur, l’anglais non pas celui de Shakespeare, langue ânonnée</p> <p><i>Language in decline, impoverished international language, reductive Globish, not the English of Shakespeare, stammering</i></p>
Argumentation	<p>Arguments deployed for EMI</p> <p><i>Claims of truth:</i> EMI will improve students’ English language skills</p>
Perspectivization	<p>Positioning of speaker</p> <p>“Le groupe UDI votera contre l’article 2.”</p> <p><i>“The UDI group will vote against Article 2.”</i></p> <p>(Here the MP is speaking as a member of a political party: Union des Démocrates et Indépendants)</p>
Mitigation and intensification	<p>Modifying the illocutionary force of utterances</p> <p>Mitigation: “Il s’agit là non pas d’un anglais de culture, d’un anglais hégémonique, mais d’une langue de spécialité qui concerne certaines disciplines scientifiques et technologiques.”</p> <p><i>“It’s not a question of a language of culture, of the hegemony of English, but a specialised language specific to certain scientific and technological subjects.”</i></p> <p>Intensification: “Nous-mêmes, nous cédon à cette mode du tout-anglais. C’est extrêmement grave.”</p> <p><i>“We ourselves give in to this fashion for English-only. It’s extremely serious.”</i></p>

Table 8. Examples of discursive strategies

With regards to the argumentation strategies, this includes identifying “topoi”. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 35), “topoi” can be understood as parts of argumentation that belong to the required premises. They are content-related warrants which connect arguments with the conclusion (i.e. the claim). They are not always explicit but can be made explicit as conditional or causal paraphrases such as: “If X, then Y” or “Y, because X” (e.g. France does not attract enough international students, because most courses are taught in French). Below are some implicit and explicit examples of topoi from the parliamentary debates data:

Topoi
Topos of “linguistic barrier”: Because courses are in French, international students are not coming to study in France.
Topos of “ambassadors”: If international students come to study in France, they will go back home and spread French influence.
Topos of “democratic right”: If EMI is a democratic right, then all students should have equal access to it.
Topos of “English language acquisition”: If EMI leads to English language acquisition, then French students will improve their English language skills.

Looking at the discursive strategies is a particularly useful way of illustrating how different actors shape the discursive representation of EMI. However, this approach is primarily a linguistic-textual analysis and does not take into account the fact that I am working with “spoken” texts (parliamentary debates and interviews) as opposed to “written texts”. Hence I include in my analytical framework an “interactional dimension” which I detail in the following two sections.

4.3.4 The interactional nature of parliamentary debates

I draw on Goffman (1981) and Scollon (1996) to reflect the interactional dimension of the parliamentary debates. Parliamentary debates have characteristic textual properties which differ considerably from naturally occurring everyday dialogue. The face-to-face interaction is framed according to a specific set of rules. The debates follow strict conventions in terms of who can talk, when, in what order and for how long. Furthermore, MPs have their speeches ready, prepared and sometimes even already written down in advance. According to Wodak (2009: 2) parliamentary speeches are often written by “spin doctors” but performed by the politicians. Goffman’s (1981)

concept of “production format” roles (*animator*, *author* and *principal*) is useful here. Simply put, the *animator* is the “talking machine, a body engaged in acoustic activity, or, if you will, an individual active in the role of utterance production” (Goffman 1981: 144). In this case, the animators are the politicians themselves. The *author* is the person involved in the wording of the utterance. Finally, the *principal* is “someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say” (Goffman 1981: 144), in other words, someone who takes responsibility for what has been said. For example, several speech writers (*authors*) may draft a speech for a Minister (*animator*) who represents the position of the government (*principal*). While the *author* and *animator* usually remain constant, the *principal* is more difficult to account for as “the same individual can rapidly alter the social role in which he is active” (Goffman 1981: 145). A politician may, for example, alternate between “we” and “I”. MPs may, for instance, speak as representatives of a party, as an individual citizen or as an MP speaking for all MPs. By oscillating between different group memberships and between various pronouns, the speaker’s position becomes less clear.

Scollon (1996) extends Goffman’s (1981) framework by arguing that for each production role there is a reception role, notably: *receptor*, *interpreter* and *judge*. The *receptor* is the person who receives the message or the acoustic activity. There can be several layers of receptors in the case of parliamentary debates as politicians not only address each other but speak in front of a camera. Hence the receptors include other MPs as well as the external viewers. Politicians are very much aware that a broader audience will receive their message. The *interpreter* is the person who makes sense of what has been said. Finally, Scollon (1996: 3) identifies the *judge* role: “one might hear a communication (receptor), and interpret its rhetorical intent (interpreter), but it still remains to accept responsibility for undertaking a response”. This last category is useful when dealing with parliamentary debates as MPs often hear and understand what has been said by others but deliberately choose to ignore it and not respond.

4.3.5 Contextualising the interview data

Mann (2011) argues that there is an excessive focus on “content” (the “what” of the interview) and not enough attention on the co-constructed nature of interviews (the “how”). To address this problem I draw on Gumperz (1999). He sees talk as

interactively constituted where interpretation is always context-dependent and meaning is ongoingly negotiated. Verbal and nonverbal signs invoke context which then gives each utterance a specific meaning. These signs are known as “contextualisation cues” which, “when processed in co-occurrence with other grammatical and lexical signs construct contextual ground for situated interpretation” (Gumperz 1999: 461). These signalling devices enable recipients to fill in for what is left unsaid. At the same time they serve as a filtering process, limiting the range of possible understandings (Gumperz 1999: 465). Gumperz (1999) identifies four levels of cues: prosody, paralinguistic signs, code choice and lexical choice. As stated in section 4.3.1.2, I represented several of these signs in the interview transcripts. While I largely focus on the “what” of the interviews, I still pay close attention to prosodic and paralinguistic features during my analysis. For instance, at the beginning of one of my interviews there are a number of paralinguistic elements which reveal problematic interaction between the interviewer (me) and the interviewee. This in itself is significant and I refer to this episode in the data chapters. I have tried to incorporate my role as the interviewer into the analysis. In other words, I account for the fact that themes are conjointly brought about. I view the interview as (inter)active in that “ideas, facts, views, details, and stories are collaboratively produced by interviewee and interviewer” (Mann 2011: 8).

I also use for my analysis ethnographic background information as an interpretive resource. Roberts and Sarangi (1999: 390), discussing Gumperz’s work explain that “context is not just the observable accomplishment of speakers but also includes the wider context of institutional practices and ideologies which create possible scenarios that the listener uses to guess at speaker meaning”. Talk is therefore not only socially shaped through interaction, it is also framed by wider institutional and (supra)national discourses.

4.3.6 Observation

In order to make sense of the observational data I draw on Wolcott’s (1994) three categories: description, analysis and interpretation. Even though “there is no such thing as ‘pure’ description” (Wolcott 1994: 13), I tried to present the data as raw facts, with no footnotes or comments (see appendix 10-11 for an example). The idea was to give

a straightforward “description” of the setting and events and stick to what I had observed. I then proceeded with the analysis.

I draw on Goffman’s (1959) dramaturgical framework to analyse the EMI classroom as a performance. In a similar way to Arthur (1996), I apply Goffman’s notions of “front stage” and “back stage” to the classroom interaction. Although Arthur (1996) does not directly refer to Goffman in his work, he makes use of similar concepts. In his study on classroom interaction in Botswana primary schools he found that English occupied a prestigious position while Setswana and other indigenous languages were marginalised. He argues that English tends to be used as the main “on-stage” language whereas Setswana is relegated to the “backstage”. The concepts of “front stage” and “back stage” (which will be further discussed in chapter 7) are particularly useful in illustrating how languages are staged and assigned different roles in the classroom. Furthermore, Goffman’s theatrical framework is particularly suited to capture the dynamics of the EMI classroom.

I combine Goffman’s framework with Gumperz’s (1999) notion of “contextualisation cues” to understand how participants negotiate meaning by making situated inferences about what is going on. I specifically look at code choice and how code switching can be used as a mechanism to signal a shift in contextual presuppositions which in turn affect interpretation (Gumperz 1999).

Throughout the analysis, I reflected on how my presence may have affected participants’ behaviours. I am conscious, for instance, that the low student participation could have been a direct effect of my being there, as the presence of a stranger may make students feel self-conscious or uncomfortable. As evoked earlier in section 4.2.4, my presence was commented on several times by teachers during the class. Rather than leaving these episodes out, I include them in the thesis as these exchanges are in themselves revealing. Wolcott (2008) argues that when people are conscious that they are being observed they enact roles which they perceive as ideal types. He comments:

Witnessing such behavior can be extremely valuable to the ethnographer interested in teasing out beliefs about how people *should* act and the inevitable tension between what people *ought* to do or *ought* to say, and what they do or say in fact. (Wolcott 2008: 52)

Hence I kept these insights in mind when analysing the data and provided alternative explanations which could explain certain behaviours.

4.3.7 Making connections across data sets

Once I had analysed each data set, the aim was to see how policy layers interact with each other in a variety of ways. In order to trace the policy trajectory of Article 2, from its conception in Parliament to its enactment in the classroom, I conducted an intertextual and interdiscursive analysis (Johnson 2013a, 2015; Wodak and Fairclough 2010).

4.3.7.1 Intertextual and interdiscursive analysis

The primary aim of the intertextual and interdiscursive analysis was to establish links between national policy “texts” and local discourses. My goal was to show which elements had been taken up from the parliamentary debates and which discourses had been ignored or rejected.

Fairclough (1992: 84) defines intertextuality as “basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth”. Simply put, intertextual relationships are references to other “texts”.³⁴ For instance, during the interviews, two teachers speak of “international openness”. This expression is intertextually linked to the Fioraso Law as well as EU policy documents. Interdiscursivity is a form of intertextuality and refers to “the particular combination of different discourses, different genres and/or different styles that characterize the text” (Wodak and Fairclough 2010: 24). Intertextual traces therefore range from direct repetition of particular words and expressions to more subtle incorporation of arguments, topoi, rhetorical devices and so forth (Wodak and Fairclough 2010).

Wodak and Fairclough (2010), for example, explore how the Bologna Process has been recontextualised in Austria and Romania. Even though they find that EU policies are being implemented in different ways across local, regional and national levels,

³⁴ Fairclough (1992) makes a distinction between “manifest” intertextuality and “constitutive” intertextuality (or “interdiscursivity”). The former specifically refers to *overt* references to other texts (for instance with a direct quotation). However, in practice, when doing the analysis, it became evident that intertextual links were not always explicit or immediately obvious. Hence only a thorough and meticulous analysis can uncover intertextual relationships.

ultimately, they illustrate through an intertextual and interdiscursive analysis how discourses of competitiveness and globalisation rhetoric permeate higher education policy documents.

As discussed in section 3.4.4, as policy texts and related discourses move through different layers, they are subject to transformation. An intertextual and interdiscursive analysis enabled me to highlight the resemblances among texts as well as the transformational processes. Chapter 8 illustrates which discourses occur across policy layers and which discourses are altered or suppressed. For example, while in Parliament the discourse on “Francophonie” occupies an important part of the discussions, in the university context, this discourse is entirely absent. Searching for discursive connections was therefore a useful way of investigating how ideologies surrounding EMI have circulated and evolved through space and time.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Even though some teachers indicated on the consent form that they were willing not to remain anonymous I still gave all the teachers pseudonyms. Students were also automatically given anonymity. There are three teachers who could be identified through their nationality and subject speciality. The teachers in question did not, however, choose to remain anonymous on the consent form, which is why I provided this information about them. I presented the consent form to them in person and went through every step to make sure they were fully aware of where the data could end up (international conferences, online sources etc.). Since the participants are academics, they were all familiar with this information. Furthermore, the research project was considered “low risk” by King’s College London’s ethics committee as the data does not contain any sensitive materials. Even though I used pseudonyms for the senior university administrators they can easily be identified through their respective positions. In both cases the respondents did not wish to stay anonymous. The name of the university is also disclosed as the President of the university gave me authorisation to do so.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I have described the ethnographic case study design along with the data collection process and the analytical framework. In brief, the object of the case study is Article 2 which comprises three units of analysis: national language policy texts,

EMI teachers/university administrators and the EMI classroom. In order to investigate these units I selected three main research methods, notably policy text analysis, interviews and classroom observation. I explained how the data collection process took place in three phases (examining, enquiring and observing). I then laid out the analytical framework. I described in detail how I conducted a theme-oriented discourse analysis for both the national language policy texts and the interviews while simultaneously accounting for the differences between “spoken” and “written” texts. I then provided an account of how I analysed the classroom data and finally ended by illustrating how I made connections across the three main data sets.

Chapter 5

From parliamentary debates to policy texts

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to present the process of policy creation at the national level. It focuses on two main policy creation activities, notably the parliamentary debates and the policy drafting process, both of which contributed towards the production of the final version of Article 2 of the Fioraso Law. The aim is to show the journey of Article 2 and how the final text was arrived at: how it is the outcome of negotiation, compromise and struggle.

The first section of this chapter presents the salient themes which arose out of the parliamentary debates. By laying out the arguments for or against EMI within each theme, I not only provide a rich account of the deliberation process but also uncover the ideological configuration of EMI. I demonstrate how politicians engage in argumentative strategies in order to influence and shape the discursive construction of EMI. Hence the first section consists of a theme-oriented discourse analysis of the parliamentary debates. I first give a brief overview of the main themes then proceed to discuss how they relate to the discursive construction of EMI.

In the second section, I show to what extent the competing voices and different ideological stances highlighted throughout the debates have been recontextualised into the (re)drafting of the legislative text. Through an intertextual analysis I show which ideas have been selectively incorporated into the bill. I trace the textual transformations by looking at multiple drafts. I argue that the last version of the bill represents the final ideological articulation of EMI.

This chapter attempts to address research question 1: “How is Article 2 discursively (co-)constructed and what discourses does it draw on?”. In this chapter I draw on the official parliamentary debate transcripts (just over 40,000 words) and four versions of the policy text (including the initial and final one).

5.2 Thematic findings

In the following sections, for purposes of clarity, I shall use the terms “EMI opponents” and “EMI proponents”. By “EMI proponents”, I refer to MPs who were, on the whole,

in favour of voting for the proposal even if they may have suggested modifications and amendments to the bill. In “EMI opponents” I include politicians who expressed a desire to repeal the proposal or who seemed still largely unsatisfied with the bill even after multiple revisions (they may however still have voted for it). I do not suggest that there is a clear-cut pro or anti-EMI division. Rather, opinions oscillate along a spectrum with some MPs taking extreme positions on either side. The complexity of the debate is illustrated through numerous extracts which provide nuance to the simplistic dichotomy.

5.2.1 Theme 1: EMI for attracting international students

Attracting international students is a major recurring topic in the parliamentary debates. It is advanced as the main reason for introducing EMI and is subject to little dispute. Indeed, it is perceived as a common goal and all politicians seem to agree on the necessity of attracting *more* international students into French universities. More specifically, MPs focus on attracting students from *emerging markets*. While this goal also appears to be taken for granted, there is nevertheless much disagreement about the means to achieve this, notably whether international students should be attracted through English or French medium of instruction. The debate on EMI largely turns into a debate about how French universities can become more “attractive” in the eyes of international students. It is worth noting that the term “attractivité” (“*attractiveness*”) occurs over 65 times throughout the debates and is a buzzword amongst policy-makers. This is perhaps not so surprising considering it is presented as the main motive for EMI in the preamble of the law: “Cette modification doit permettre d’améliorer l’attractivité de l’enseignement supérieur français vis à vis des étudiants étrangers” (“*This modification should make French higher education more attractive to foreign students*”). In this sense, prior legal documents have informed the political debate.

5.2.1.1 The economic rationale

In her opening speech, Minister Fioraso begins by stating that there are not enough students from emerging markets in French universities. She presents this information as an undisputed fact by providing statistics. This allows her, from the outset, to construct the “lack” of international students from emerging economies as a

“problem” which needs to be solved (through offering EMI). According to her, France is missing out on an economic and political opportunity by not attracting the “millions of young people” who will be the “leaders of tomorrow”. The perceived shortage in students coming from emerging markets constitutes the main justification for Article 2. To put it simply, the argumentation scheme can be represented as follows:

Argument/premise: There are not enough students from emerging markets studying in France.

Conclusion-rule: There are not enough students from emerging markets studying in France because all courses are offered in French.

The validity claim/conclusion: French universities should offer courses in English to attract more international students from emerging markets.

All politicians seem to concur with the above argument (i.e. “not enough students from emerging markets”) and perceive the recruitment of international students as key to France’s economic competitiveness. The common objective of attracting more international students is legitimised by the topos of “necessity”. The focus is specifically on attracting international students who are from traditionally non-Francophone areas: “Je suis moi aussi convaincu de la **nécessité** d’attirer les étudiants des pays émergents non francophones” (“*I too am convinced of the necessity to attract students from non-Francophone emerging countries*”) (MP Amirshahi, my emphasis). It is interesting here how Amirshahi restates the *necessity* to be attractive even though he is an EMI opponent. This shows how politicians can agree on a principal argument (or the premise) but not necessarily with the conclusion. The countries which are constantly referred to are: India, China and South Korea in particular, along with other BRICS countries. The specific reference to the BRICS acronym along with the focus on emerging markets indirectly reflect the economic rationales underpinning EMI. The aim is evidently to target countries with strong potential economic growth.

To further emphasise the need to attract more international students Minister Fioraso insists on the fact that France has been overtaken by Germany and has dropped from the second to the fifth place in terms of the countries with the highest proportion of incoming international students. In the context of competition for global talent this “drop” in the ranking is portrayed as a weakness and contributes to the image that France is “falling behind” and losing power. The way in which numbers and rankings are used as proof that EMI should be allowed in French universities is significant in

that no educational motives are put forward. The race for international students signals a desire to take part in the knowledge-based economy: “nous menons une guerre économique qui se double d’une guerre scientifique, la première étant soutenue par la seconde” (“*we’re waging an economic war, coupled with a scientific war, the first being supported by the second*”) (MP Debré). The powerful metaphor of war functions as a reminder of what is at stake. It shows how language policies are part of a wider economic agenda. The use of military imagery recurs throughout the parliamentary debates and across all themes. MP Larrivé views France’s attractiveness as a strategy for greater economic and political power:

Notre attractivité auprès des étudiants talentueux des pays émergents est un enjeu majeur pour maintenir l’influence de notre pays dans les enceintes diplomatiques, mais aussi pour conquérir des marchés. (MP Larrivé)

Our attractiveness for the best students from emerging countries is vital to maintain the influence of our country in diplomatic circles and also to conquer markets.

It is noteworthy that the term “attractiveness”, which has positive (and almost peaceful) connotations, should be associated with military language (i.e. conquest). The nominalisation (i.e. the conversion of the verb “to attract” into a noun) suggests a natural and agentless process when in fact, behind the idea of attractiveness is a carefully orchestrated political and economic strategy. The military vocabulary denotes a form of hard power (i.e. the power to coerce) while the notion of “attractiveness” suggests a form of soft power (i.e. the power to influence and attract). Although there is no question of using military force or coercion, what is significant is that international students (and indirectly EMI) are construed as tools for exercising political and economic power.

EMI opponents and proponents alike discuss international students in terms of percentages and numbers, further highlighting their monetary value. The economic motivations for attracting international students are quite apparent throughout all the debates. EMI in this context is simply a lever for economic growth. The economic orientation of Article 2 reflects the extent to which “language policies have become ‘tools’ for implementing political macro-strategies” (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011: 117). While Tollefson and Tsui (2004: 2) argue that “behind the educational agenda are political, social, and economic agendas”, I argue that, in this case, the educational agenda is almost non-existent whereas political and economic rationales prevail. In

fact the educational agenda is only referred to when it serves to strengthen the argument. The economic goals are in this sense overt rather than covert or “hidden” (Shohamy 2006).

5.2.1.2 The topos of “linguistic barrier”

As mentioned above, it is not so much the “necessity” to attract international students which is debated, but rather *how* to attract them. Indeed, what MPs disagree on is whether to attract students through English or French medium of instruction. One of the main justifications for Article 2 is that courses in French constitute an obstacle for international students. Minister Fioraso explicitly refers to the French language as an “obstacle” for international students on four separate occasions. This rhetorically motivated predication strategy is part of her argumentation strategy. Indeed, the metaphor of French as a linguistic barrier acts as a main topos in her argument: “Beaucoup voudraient venir en France, mais se heurtent à l’obstacle de la langue” (*“Many [students] would like to come to France but are faced with the language obstacle”*). Note how the verb “heurter” in French, which literally translates as “to hit” or “collide with”, contributes to the imagery of a physical barrier.

The topos of linguistic barrier is taken up by other MPs both explicitly and implicitly. However, the idea that French constitutes a linguistic barrier is also openly contested by EMI opponents:

S’est-on vraiment posé la question de savoir si les freins à l’accueil des étudiants étrangers n’étaient pas ailleurs que dans la barrière de la langue ? Vous raisonnez comme si la seule barrière s’opposant à l’accueil d’étudiants étrangers en France était celle de la langue, mais c’est tout à fait faux. (MP Fasquelle)

Has anyone really questioned whether the obstacle to receiving foreign students was to be found elsewhere than in the language barrier? You are arguing as if the only obstacle to receiving foreign students in France was one of language, but that is completely false.

Note how the deictic pronoun “vous” is used to signal distance. Here Fasquelle refutes the topos of linguistic barrier by arguing that international students may not be coming to France for a variety of other reasons. Other factors include accommodation standards, visas or residency permits. Another way that MPs reject the topos of

linguistic barrier is by claiming that France will necessarily be a second best option if courses are taught in English:

On nous dit qu'il faut attirer les étudiants étrangers avec des cursus entièrement en anglais. Mais de qui se moque-t-on? Croyez-vous que les étudiants que nous allons accueillir ne vont pas d'abord tenter d'aller aux États-Unis ou en Grande-Bretagne, avant de se rabattre éventuellement sur la France ? (MP Myard)

They tell us that we need to attract international students with programmes entirely in English. You can't be serious! Do you think that the students we will receive are not first going to try to go to the U.S. or the U.K. before settling for a place in France if need be?

Note the intensification strategy used by Myard who uses the hyperbolic adverbial phrase “entièrement en anglais” (*“entirely in English”*) to accentuate the potential spread of EMI. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the deictic pronouns “we” and “you” suggests a strong political divide. In a similar fashion, Fasquelle suggests that EMI in France will never be authentic: “nous ne ferons qu’attirer les étudiants qui auront été refusés par les universités anglophones, on préfère toujours l’original à la copie” (*“we will only attract the students who have been rejected by Anglophone universities, people always prefer the real thing”*). Both comments are interesting in that they construct EMI in France as second-rate. EMI is only deemed legitimate if it is taught by a native speaker and in an Anglophone country.

It is also interesting to note that in this discussion some topics are deliberately avoided. For instance, when the various factors impacting universities’ attractiveness are debated, there is no mention of tuition fees. This seems to be a major omission especially when comparing French universities to Anglo-Saxon ones. I argue that this reveals the constraints of the political debate. Politicians are very much aware of media presence and the fact that they are “doing politics” (Wodak 2011). They deliberately avoid certain topics (such as tuition fees) which are a particularly sensitive issue in France. It would be potentially face-threatening for any MP to suggest that international students choose French universities over Anglo-Saxon ones simply because they are cheaper.

Closely related to the topos of linguistic “barrier” is the topos of linguistic “openness”. If, metaphorically speaking, courses in French are deemed to constitute a barrier, by contrast courses in English are synonymous with free movement and open borders. It

is revealing how EMI proponents discuss EMI in terms of “openness” and how it enables universities to “open up” to the world. This motif recurs throughout the debates and can be found in all themes. Regarding theme 1, supporting EMI is repeatedly presented as giving access to international students and therefore to the rest of the world and other cultures. Conversely, being against EMI supposes being narrow-minded and hostile to different cultures and international students. One MP goes as far as stating: “il n’y a que M. Fasquelle qui a une phobie de l’étudiant étranger” (*“Only Mr Fasquelle has a phobia about foreign students”*) (MP Mandon). This comment causes complete disruption and chaos within the Assembly. A point of order is raised and MP Fasquelle demands a formal apology from MP Mandon. The incident is subsequently brought up six times in total by various politicians. The way in which Mandon accuses Fasquelle of xenophobia is highly significant.

The topic of immigration is firstly brought into the discussion through repeated references to the infamous “circulaire Guéant” which was a 2011 government circular which aimed to reduce the number of non-EU students staying in France after obtaining their degree. This document was issued during Sarkozy’s presidency. It is evident that party politics have now come into play as no right-wing politician brings up the “circulaire Guéant” as a possible explanation for the reduction in the number of incoming international students. On the other hand, Socialist MP Amirshahi, who is against EMI, identifies the circular as the primary cause (or “barrier”) for international students:

En premier lieu, je crois que l’attractivité de nos universités n’a pas tant été affaiblie par un défaut de maîtrise de l’anglais que par une politique migratoire un peu paranoïaque dont la circulaire Guéant était le symbole le plus détestable. (MP Amirshahi)

First of all I think that the attractiveness of our universities has been weakened, not so much by inadequate English language skills as by a somewhat paranoid immigration policy, of which the “circulaire Guéant” is the most loathsome symbol.

By putting the blame on the “circulaire Guéant”, MP Amirshahi is able to repudiate the linguistic barrier topos. Nevertheless, pro-EMI parliamentarians continue to associate defenders of French with protectionism: “je n’ai jamais, je dis bien jamais, considéré notre langue comme une forteresse assiégée” (*“I have never, I repeat never, considered our language to be a besieged fortress”*) (MP Bloche). Here the war

metaphor serves to associate opponents of Article 2 with the ideology of the far-right.³⁵ This not only reveals how Article 2 is instrumentalised for political purposes but shows how EMI is conceived as part of a political ideology. From the beginning, Minister Fioraso announces that the law “*visé également à assurer l’ouverture à l’international*” (“*also aims to ensure international openness*”). She is framing EMI in such a way that it becomes symbolic of tolerance, diversity and inclusiveness. Conversely, the metaphor of French as a “barrier” evokes nationalistic ideology. EMI opponents resist nationalistic accusations by engaging in similar discourses of “openness” and “access”. For example, EMI opponents contest the topos of linguistic barrier by illustrating how French can be used to penetrate and access foreign markets. They insist that French universities should focus on attracting international students who already have some knowledge of French:

[R]appelons que le français reste la deuxième langue étrangère enseignée dans le monde. [...] Il y a de nombreux jeunes en Chine, en Corée, en Inde, au Brésil et en Turquie qui maîtrisent le français ou désirent le maîtriser. (MP Amirshahi)

Let’s remember that French is the number two language taught in the world. [...] There are many young people in China, Korea, India, Brazil and Turkey who are fluent in French or would like to be.

What is revealing here is the way in which opponents of EMI employ identical discursive strategies to proponents of EMI (i.e. the reference to BRICS countries). In the same way, French is constructed as a language of economic opportunity. In an attempt to uphold the “value” of French, EMI opponents find themselves having to employ similar discourses of “commodification” (Park and Wee 2012: 14). This reveals a discursive struggle in which two visions are competing to achieve hegemony. In so doing, both sides are trying to push certain ideas into EMI.

I take the parliamentary debates to be a primary example of “context of influence” (Bowe et al. 1992) where interested parties struggle to influence policy discourse. It is here that discourses are formed and key policy concepts are established. By discussing EMI in terms of “attractiveness” and “openness”, MPs are infusing EMI with certain values which give it a specific ideological configuration. Section 5.2.1 has illustrated

³⁵ The fact that “international students” are referred to as “foreign students” in France (i.e. “*étudiants étrangers*”) further enables politicians to accuse EMI opponents of being against foreigners.

some of the main discursive strategies used in relation to the debate about attractiveness and shown how other topics such as immigration are brought to the fore.

5.2.2 Theme 2: EMI for the promotion of “Francophonie”

A major theme in the parliamentary debates is the effect of EMI on “Francophonie”. MPs discuss at length whether or not EMI can help project France’s cultural, linguistic and political influence abroad. While proponents of EMI argue that EMI can stimulate the promotion of “Francophonie”, opponents claim EMI will undermine it. The debate about EMI becomes a debate about whether or not EMI constitutes a threat to “Francophonie” (and to the international status of French). Article 2 detractors highlight the potentially unforeseen consequences of adopting EMI, such as reducing the incentive to learn French abroad. EMI proponents, on the other hand, argue that by drawing international students to French culture and French language they are effectively strengthening “Francophonie”.

5.2.2.1 The topos of “ambassadors”

The potential role that EMI can play in promoting France’s cultural influence abroad is a particularly controversial subject. Indeed, when Fioraso begins to suggest in her introductory speech that international students can help spread French language and culture, she is immediately interrupted, to the extent that the President of the Commission (who can be seen as the “framer” of discourse, c.f. Scollon 1996) has to call for silence.³⁶ A closer analysis of Fioraso’s intervention reveals the contentious nature of the debate: “Nous ferons ainsi venir à la culture de notre pays davantage d’étudiants [noise rises], des ETUDIANTS qui...sinon [protest in the background]” (“*This way we will bring to our culture more students [noise rises], STUDENTS who...otherwise [protest in the background]*”) (edited transcript). Note the linguistic and paralinguistic features which indicate how her suggestion meets with resistance. Nevertheless, the idea that EMI can promote “Francophonie” is taken up by EMI proponents and becomes a key argumentative strategy.

³⁶ It is worth noting that the President’s intervention was omitted from the official transcript.

Indeed, supporters of EMI assert that international students can serve as “ambassadors” of French language and culture. The topos of “ambassadors” is extensively deployed by MPs, becoming a recurring motif:

Il leur faut pouvoir suivre des cours en anglais de manière à obtenir leurs diplômes ou à travailler à une thèse. Au bout de trois ans, ils auront appris le français et seront nos ambassadeurs. (MP Attard)

They need to be able to follow courses in English to pass their exams or work on a doctorate. Three years later they will have acquired a good command of French and will be our ambassadors.

There are several assumptions in this statement: firstly that all international students are capable of following courses in English, secondly that they will acquire French during their stay and thirdly that they will positively represent France abroad. The seemingly logical connection between these three assumptions is suggested by the shift in tenses (from the first modal verb in the present, to the future perfect, to the simple future) which gives strong illocutionary force to the claim. It is widely assumed that by being in France, international students will automatically be immersed in French culture:

[L]es étudiants s’imprégneront de la culture française, apprendront éventuellement notre langue et, à leur retour, seront les ambassadeurs de notre culture et de nos produits, donc de la francophonie. [...] Un étudiant étranger qui vient étudier en France en repartira, même s’il a étudié en anglais, empreint de la culture française et de nos valeurs, qu’il pourra ensuite diffuser dans son pays d’origine. (MP Apparü)

The students will become familiar with French culture, may well learn our language and, when they go back, they will be ambassadors for our culture, our products and therefore Francophonie. A foreign student who comes to France to study will go home, even if he has studied in English, steeped in French culture and values that he will later spread in his own country.

The metaphor of “soaking up” French culture (and language) is prevalent in explaining how international students will serve as an extension of “Francophonie”. The metaphor implies a natural, effortless process whereby culture (and language) are absorbed like a sponge. MP Salles further extends the topos of ambassadors by suggesting that international students can be used as weapons: “C’est ainsi que nous ferons de nos jeunes ressortissants les fers de lance de notre culture à l’étranger” (“*This way we will turn our young international students into spearheads for our culture abroad*”). The war imagery signals that international students (and by extension EMI) are viewed as a form of soft power. Indeed, the topos of ambassadors reflects the politics behind

international student mobility. It is clear that policy makers are interested in recruiting international students primarily in order to strengthen France's international influence, cultural diplomacy and business ties.

Even though a few MPs completely dismiss the topos of ambassadors (*"Oser nous dire qu'on va défendre la francophonie en anglais, très franchement, ce n'est pas très sérieux, ce n'est pas très crédible"*) (*"To dare to tell us that we will be supporting Francophonie in English is, quite frankly, not serious, not very credible"*) (MP Fasquelle), the majority of EMI opponents argue that if EMI programmes legally require international students to take French language courses, then this would potentially reinforce the spread of French. Once the amendment requiring international students to take mandatory French language lessons is voted, it becomes much more difficult for EMI opponents to argue against the topos of ambassadors. Indeed, Article 2 is thereafter presented as ensuring the promotion of French:

Des étudiants étrangers non francophones pourront se former dans nos universités et bénéficier ainsi d'un apprentissage en français qu'ils n'auraient jamais obtenu dans un autre pays. Je soutiens donc avec force cet article pour le rayonnement de la France dans le monde et la promotion de notre langue. (MP Cordery).

Non-Francophone international students will be educated in our universities and will benefit from French language classes which would not have been available to them in another country. So I firmly support this article since it reinforces France's rayonnement in the world and promotes our language.

The word "rayonnement" (i.e. influence/prestige) here is highly significant. Usually associated with French language and French culture, the term "rayonnement" goes hand in hand with the discourse on "Francophonie". It is therefore not by chance that Fioraso also uses the word "rayonnement" three times in her opening speech. By framing international students as active agents of France's "rayonnement", Article 2 can no longer be criticised for undermining "Francophonie". The way in which discourses on "rayonnement" and "Francophonie" are combined with the discourse on EMI is an example of interdiscursivity. This hybrid discourse is somewhat unconventional in that the English language is historically not at all associated with the promotion of French. As discussed in chapter 2, especially since the 1960s, the hegemony of English has been seen as a threat to French language, culture and identity. However the topos of ambassadors has contributed to a discursive shift whereby EMI is viewed as key to the spread of French culture and language. Hence whilst the fiercest

opponents of EMI maintain that EMI and “Francophonie” are incompatible, more moderate MPs do envisage a role for EMI in promoting “Francophonie” and France’s “rayonnement”.

5.2.2.2 The impact of the law: diverging interpretations

While EMI proponents try to downplay the effects of the law, insisting on its limited impact, opponents stress the wide-ranging negative consequences. Anti-EMI MPs are worried about the symbolic effects of allowing EMI into French universities. If French universities switch to EMI, this might jeopardise the international prestige of French. The symbolic dimension of Article 2 is discussed in terms of how it constitutes a negative signal for the rest of the world:

La politique est faite de symboles. A-t-on vraiment pris conscience, mes chers collègues, du signal que l’on va envoyer dans le monde en direction de tous ceux qui aiment et défendent le français? (MP Fasquelle)

Politics is a matter of symbols. Are we fully aware, dear colleagues, of the signal we will be sending throughout the world to those who love and defend the French language?

Note the emotional appeal with the reference to the “love” of French. MP Fasquelle argues that Article 2 will be interpreted as a sign that the French are letting down supporters and defenders of French across the world. Several argue along extremely similar lines, using identical lexical choices. Compare:

MP Fasquelle	MP Cinieri
Nous-mêmes, nous <u>cédons</u> à cette mode du tout-anglais. [...] Notre débat de ce matin n’est pas suivi qu’en France, il l’est aussi à l’étranger, et il <u>désespère ceux qui se battent en faveur de la francophonie ou du français</u> dans le monde.	[M]es chers collègues, ne <u>cédons</u> pas à la facilité. Si nous adoptons cet article, nous <u>désespérerons tous ceux qui défendent la langue française et la francophonie</u> dans les pays amis et dans les instances internationales.
<i>We ourselves are <u>giving in</u> to the “English-only” fashion. This morning’s debate is not just being followed in France, but also abroad, <u>disappointing all those who are fighting for French and Francophonie</u> in the world.</i>	<i>My dear colleagues, let us not <u>give in</u> to the easy option. If we vote for this article it will be to the <u>despair of those defending French and Francophonie</u> in friendly nations and in international institutions.</i>

Note Fasquelle's use of the hyperbole "tout-anglais" which functions as a threatening prediction. Moreover, the present tense in both extracts gives a sense of immediacy to the repercussions of the law. By reiterating similar ideas, the MPs are attempting to shape discourse in a certain way. Here they are constructing the adoption of Article 2 as a form of surrender. Both Fasquelle and Myard, the most fervent critics of EMI, later on compare the adoption of Article 2 to a "capitulation". The war imagery functions as an intensification strategy. The constant references to the need to "defend" French give the impression that French language is under attack.³⁷ It is interesting how both EMI supporters and opponents are primarily concerned about France losing influence on the world stage. On the one hand Article 2 is framed as a solution for France to move up in the international rankings, on the other hand the adoption of Article 2 is constructed as a sign of weakness. Despite competing ideological stances, both camps are in fact seeking to reassert France's power.

Beyond the symbolic effects, EMI opponents believe that the bill may have "real" (as opposed to only symbolic) unforeseen consequences such as undermining the teaching and learning of French abroad:

Quant aux cours en langue anglaise, très franchement, c'est un abandon absolument INCroyable de la souveraineté française et de la culture française. Qui va encore aller apprendre le français à l'étranger si en France on n'est même pas fichu de faire des cours en français dans nos universités. Voilà, c'est un véritable scandale.³⁸ (MP Fasquelle)

As far as courses taught in English are concerned, this constitutes an absolutely INCredible surrender of French sovereignty and French culture. Who is going to bother to learn French if in France we are not even capable of teaching courses in French in our own universities. This is quite scandalous.

Note again the idea of abandonment. Fasquelle's frustration is evident here notably through the way he raises his voice and the change in register. It is interesting that Fioraso, who speaks right after him, chooses to completely ignore his comments. Although she undoubtedly has heard what he has said, she deliberately decides not to respond in order to minimise conflict (c.f. "judge role" Scollon 1996). EMI proponents

³⁷ The verb "defend" is used 43 times during the parliamentary debates.

³⁸ Note the official transcript: "Quant à votre proposition d'autoriser des cours en langue anglaise son adoption constituerait un recul inouï de notre souveraineté et de notre culture. Dans quel pays apprendra-t-on encore notre langue si même la France ne peut plus en imposer l'usage dans ses universités?" ("As for your proposal to allow courses to be taught in English, its adoption would constitute an unprecedented step backwards for our sovereignty and culture. In which country will anyone study our language if even in France its use is not imposed in universities?").

tend to use more conciliatory language throughout the debates to emphasise common objectives, notably through the repeated use of the collective pronoun “we”. By signalling commitment and dedication to “rayonnement” and the promotion of “Francophonie”, they aim to reassure opponents.

However Fasquelle insists the law will, with time, have disastrous effects on the French language. He deploys a rhetoric based on fear to argue that the EMI “exception” will become the rule. He pushes his argument even further by suggesting that, eventually, the French language will disappear. These apocalyptic predictions are often supported by quotations from prominent French figures: “Comme l’affirme Michel Serres, une langue disparaît lorsqu’elle ne peut pas tout dire. Elle devient virtuellement morte” (*“As Michel Serres asserts, a language disappears when it is no longer able to express everything. It becomes virtually dead”*) (MP Fasquelle). Politician Lepage dismisses these alarmist claims as ludicrous:

De grâce, coupons d’emblée court à tout fantasme d’anglicisation irréversible et galopante de l’université française. Nous n’avons rien à gagner à cette détestable défense de la francophonie par la peur. (Senator Lepage)

For heaven’s sake let’s stop fantasising about the unstoppable invasion of English in French universities. We stand to gain nothing from this detestable defence of Francophonie based on fear.

Other EMI proponents argue that the proposal has been sufficiently amended and revised to ensure that French will remain the primary medium of instruction. EMI, they assure, will only be allowed in strictly defined circumstances which are established in the policy text. The diverging views on the likely impact of the bill reflect the multiple interpretations of the law. This shows how policy “creators” are also involved in processes of interpretation (Johnson 2013a).

5.2.2.3 Revisiting the principles of “Francophonie”

While all MPs agree that it is necessary to defend and promote “Francophonie”, their idea of what “Francophonie” actually is or does varies. The EMI debate gradually shifts into a debate about the definition of “Francophonie”.

In the 1970s, “Francophonie” was seen as a way of resisting Americanisation and from the 1980s onwards, as a response to global capitalism and Anglo-American domination. Simply put, “Francophonie” was constructed as an alternative to the

Anglo-Saxon political and cultural model. As an international organisation comparable to the British Commonwealth, the “International Organisation of Francophonie” (OIF) embodied another way of thinking. In order to resist cultural uniformisation, the promotion of French cultural values was seen as key.³⁹ However it is this last point which causes disagreement in the parliamentary debates, that is, the extent to which French cultural values have to be promoted through the French language.

There are those who argue that defending “Francophonie” inevitably entails defending French as a medium of instruction:

La défense de la langue est celle de notre culture, de notre histoire. Par conséquent, maintenir la langue française comme le vecteur premier de l’enseignement est nécessaire. (MP Buffet)

Defending our language is defending our culture and history. Consequently, it is vital to keep French as the medium of instruction.

On the other hand, there are others who think “Francophonie” goes beyond language. Minister Fioraso for instance strategically places less emphasis on French language in her interpretation of “Francophonie”: “[N]ous partageons la même vision, non réductrice, de la francophonie: ce n’est pas seulement une langue, c’est aussi une culture au sens large et le partage de valeurs” (“*We share the same vision, not a narrow one; of Francophonie: it is not just a language, but a culture in the wider sense and shared values*”). The use of the pronoun “nous” here is particularly powerful as it refers to a former private conversation held with Abdou Diouf,⁴⁰ giving her statement authority. Several MPs adopt a similar definition to hers, primarily highlighting the need to spread French cultural values (and not just French language). The intertextual links between politicians’ speeches is striking, for example:

³⁹ According to the OIF’s website such values include linguistic and cultural diversity, peace and human rights.

⁴⁰ Abdou Diouf was Secretary-General to the “Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie” (OIF) from 2003 to 2015 and President of Senegal from 1981 to 2000.

Minister Fioraso	MP Apparau
La francophonie ne se réduit pas à un langage c'est aussi une culture au sens large et le partage de valeurs. <i>Francophonie is not restricted to language, it is also culture in the wider sense and shared values.</i>	La francophonie ne se limite pas à la langue c'est aussi un ensemble de valeurs et une culture partagée. <i>Francophonie is not limited to language, it is also a collection of values and a shared culture.</i>

Interested parties try to influence and shape “Francophonie” so as to serve their own political views (see “context of influence” Bowe et al. 1992). By shifting the focus away from French language, it allows politicians to make a stronger case for introducing EMI. They argue that EMI can function as a tool to export the French cultural model. The discursive construction of English and French is striking. On the one hand, English is seen as a value-free and culturally neutral instrument of communication: “il s’agit là non pas d’un anglais de culture, d’un anglais hégémonique, mais d’une langue de spécialité qui concerne certaines disciplines scientifiques et technologiques” (“*It’s not a question of a language of culture, of the hegemony of English, but a specialised language specific to certain scientific and technological subjects*”) (Fioraso). The French language, on the other hand, is constantly associated with French values and culture. The “langue de Molière” (MP Cinieri) is portrayed as being inherently linked to cultural heritage:

[Nous] discutons d’un sujet important: celui de la France, et de sa langue si particulière. Nous savons qu’il y a un lien indissociable entre le français, la République, sa littérature, et le rayonnement de la France à l’étranger. (MP Feltesse)

[We] are discussing an important topic: France, and its so distinctive language. We know that there is an inseparable link between the French language, the Republic, French literature and France’s “rayonnement” abroad.

This insistence on the cultural dimension of French language further feeds into the idea that English (or EMI) is simply a tool.

For EMI proponents, it is necessary to reinvent a “modern” version of “Francophonie” which is open to EMI. For them, allowing EMI in universities reflects the ability to adapt to current trends. They portray themselves as acting with reason and moderation. Those who oppose EMI are, on the contrary, described as extreme and irrational.

Minister Fioraso accuses them of acting out of passion rather than with reason. She repeatedly links EMI to progress and pragmatism whereas the status quo is deemed insular and backwards: “l’enseignement en français devrait permettre d’être entre nous, bien éloigné du monde entier, mais non, mais non. Le progrès c’est d’être ouvert” (*“teaching in French allows us to stay together, far away from the rest of the world, no, no. Progress means being open”*). Note how teaching in French is constructed as isolationist, as turning away from global engagement. Again the notion of “opening up to the world”, which was already evoked earlier, resurges: “S’ouvrir à l’anglais, c’est bien le minimum que l’on puisse faire en 2013!” (*“opening up to English is the least we can do in 2013!”*) (MP Attard). Embracing EMI becomes synonymous with being open to cultural and linguistic diversity:

La France doit s’ouvrir davantage au plurilinguisme.[...] [L]a diversité linguistique [est] à mon sens la meilleure arme pour la promotion de notre langue dans le monde. Nous ne pouvons pas nous recroqueviller sur nous-mêmes et agir seuls et de manière défensive. (MP Cordery)

France must be more open to plurilingualism. To my mind, linguistic diversity is the best weapon to promote our language in the world. We cannot hunker down and act alone, on the defensive.

Note how the notion of being “open” stands in contrast with the inward-looking, parochial defenders of French. As discussed in chapter 2, defenders of French have supported linguistic diversity since the mid 1970s as part of their strategy to counter English hegemony; however, the main difference here is that previously, linguistic diversity was understood as “languages other than English” whereas here the meaning has shifted to “other languages including English”. Hence by linking EMI to linguistic diversity and multilingualism, EMI proponents are able to accuse anti-EMI politicians of being against linguistic diversity.

In order to counter these accusations, EMI opponents repeatedly express their support for multilingualism:

Je parle anglais à peu près couramment. Je parle aussi allemand et je me suis mis à d’autres langues, comme l’arabe, qui est très belle, ou le chinois et le russe dont je maîtrise quelques rudiments – je ne le dis pas par vantardise, mais pour vous montrer que je suis bien conscient de la nécessité de s’ouvrir au monde. Il ne s’agit pas en effet de se replier sur soi. (MP Myard)

I speak English more or less fluently. I also speak German and have started studying other languages, such as Arabic, which is a beautiful language, or Chinese and Russian of which I have a few notions. I do not say this to brag,

but to show you that I am well aware of the necessity of opening up to the world. It is important not to turn in on oneself.

By enumerating the languages that he speaks, MP Myard is showing that he is “open” to different languages. Note how he specifically refers to Arabic as “beautiful”, in an attempt to distance himself from far right anti-immigrant ideology.⁴¹ MP Amirshahi similarly stresses the importance of learning other languages than English (including Arabic). For Myard and Amirshahi, being forward-thinking means promoting languages which are not hegemonic and do not represent a threat to linguistic diversity. Here we see a discursive struggle to define what is a “modern” interpretation of “Francophonie”. The (in)compatibility of EMI and linguistic diversity remains a fundamental point of disagreement. For EMI opponents, courses in English are problematic because eventually English may displace other academic languages. Conversely, EMI advocates maintain that English can peacefully co-exist with other languages. Regardless of whether EMI is seen as an opportunity or a threat to multilingualism, all politicians concur that multilingualism is preferable to French-only or English-only policies.

5.2.2.4 *Francophonie and worldviews*

As mentioned briefly above, originally “Francophonie” was conceived as another way of seeing the world. However, during the parliamentary debates the alternative French model is subject to two competing interpretations which essentially reflect two worldviews.

Simply put, a divide is formed between the “globalists” on the one hand (the majority), who encourage EMI and the “nationalists” on the other, who support French-medium instruction. While both present themselves as against cultural uniformisation, they differ in their attitudes towards political, economic and cultural globalisation. For those who are staunchly opposed to Article 2, adopting EMI would mean giving in to the Anglo-Saxon model: “Ne nous limitons pas à une vision d’un monde” (“*Let us not limit ourselves to a single world view*”) (MP Buffet). Myard laments: “cette espèce de maladie consistant à vouloir s’exprimer dans une langue qui n’est pas la nôtre” (“*this obsession to want to express ourselves in a language which is not ours*”) (MP Myard).

⁴¹ Arabic is considered as an “immigrant language” in France and is the second most spoken language after French.

He associates EMI with the global cosmopolitan urban elite who are, according to him, disconnected from reality:

Vous êtes en train de nourrir un ressentiment qui dépasse les petits cénacles professoraux des grandes écoles qui n’y connaissent rien car ils sont enfermés dans leur autisme et ne regardent pas ce qui se passe dans le monde. (MP Myard)

You are nursing a resentment that goes beyond the narrow circles of the Grandes Ecoles who are locked up in their autism and who do not look at what is happening outside.

Note the intensification strategies used here to portray the elites as far removed from the ordinary citizen. This depiction culminates in the metaphorical hyperbole of “autism” which echoes his reference to illness in the previous translation (translated above as “obsession”). He rebukes politicians who are, according to him “fascinated” by English: “Cet article porte la marque des cervelles lavées qui excellent à s’exprimer en globish et pensent ainsi se faire comprendre de la terre entière” (“*This article bears the mark of those who are brain-washed, who excel at speaking in Globish and think that this is how they can make themselves understood throughout the whole world*”). His attacks are by far the most virulent of the debate. He suggests that supporters of EMI have been indoctrinated by Anglo-American ideology. For him, EMI is a form of linguistic and cultural imperialism which can in no way be associated with an alternative way of seeing the world: “Il y a un moment où il faut savoir dire “non”. Seul l’esclave dit “oui” et vous vous placez dans cette position” (“*There comes a moment when you have to be able to say ‘No’. Only a slave says ‘Yes’ and you are putting yourselves in this position*”) (MP Myard). The metaphor of the slave is particularly powerful and is indirectly taken up by others who present France as a country “culturellement colonisé” (MP Salles). These claims not only show how English is perceived as a threat to French culture and identity, they also illustrate two worldviews which comprise different values and beliefs.

Myard’s use of the oxymoron “excel in Globish” (a contraction of “global” and “English”) above is particularly significant. The term “Globish” has extremely negative connotations in this case. It refers to the type of basic English spoken by non-native speakers and is also characterised as: “globish réducteur”, “langage international appauvri”, “sabir” and “langue ânonnée” (“*reductive Globish*”, “*impoverished international language*”, “*pidgin*” and “*stammering*”). These

nomination strategies serve to discredit EMI altogether. Furthermore, what is implied behind the notion of “Globish” is that it is the language of international business and commerce:

[C]et article n’ouvre pas l’université, il la ferme sur ce sabir parlé aujourd’hui un peu partout, que l’on présente comme le *deus ex machina*, et qui n’est en réalité qu’une conception mercantile de la langue imaginée pour vendre des cacahuètes. (MP Myard)

*This article does not open the university up, it restricts it to this kind of pidgin spoken everywhere today and presented as the *deus ex machina*, when in reality it is just a mercantile conception of language devised to sell peanuts.*

Again the idea of opening/closing emerges. He strictly condemns the neoliberal agenda underpinning EMI. For him, the English language disseminates a culture of profit and an ideology of global capitalism that destroys linguistic and cultural diversity. Resisting EMI therefore becomes a way of resisting neoliberalism:

Votre libéralisme culturel vient ainsi en appui au libéralisme économique contre lequel votre majorité, et le Président de la République à sa tête, n’ont pas de mots assez durs. (MP Rochebloine)

Your cultural liberalism thus reinforces the economic liberalism which your majority, led by the President of the Republic seems so keen to denounce.

A clear “us” and “them” divide is signalled through the use of the adjective “votre”. As discussed earlier, the “globalists”, who tend to favour “open” markets and limit protectionism, dismiss defenders of French as inward-looking. For them, linguistic protectionism is contrary to progress and modernity. The EMI debate in this sense reveals an ideological clash between those who support globalisation and those who resist it. This is of course an oversimplification since, as I have already mentioned, defenders of French also find themselves embracing globalist discourses. Furthermore, while Minister Fioraso can largely be seen as a “globalist”, she still strategically positions herself in between the two by drawing on patriotic discourses:

Nous sommes un grand pays. Nous devons être ouverts à toutes les cultures, nous devons être à l’offensive. C’est de cette façon que nous défendrons le mieux notre langue, nos valeurs et notre propre richesse culturelle. (Minister Fioraso)

We are a great country. We must be open to all cultures. We must be on the offensive. It is the best way to defend our language, our values and our own cultural heritage.

The repetition of the possessive pronoun “our” emphasises her support and attachment to the homeland. By re-aligning her rhetoric, she is minimising disagreement and showing common concern. It is interesting how, throughout the debates she intersperses her interventions with patriotic, economic and social justice rhetoric. Nevertheless, two worldviews do seem to emerge, which shows how EMI is far from being apolitical. There is a clear struggle concerning the ideological configuration of EMI.

This section 5.2.2 has revealed how certain concepts such as “rayonnement” are central to the EMI debate in France. Furthermore, I demonstrated how EMI is discursively constructed in relation to the theme of “Francophonie”. EMI is linked to linguistic diversity, modernity and cultural influence but beyond that it is linked to different political ideologies.

Although I made a distinction between theme one and theme two in terms of whether the themes were inward or outward-facing (see section 4.3.2.5), the first two themes are linked and are of equal importance. The desire to spread French influence relies on attracting international students. In other words, influence and attraction are complementary. I now turn to theme three which was still salient but not as widespread as the first two.

5.2.3 Theme 3: EMI as a tool for democratisation

This last section deals with the domestic implications of EMI. EMI proponents argue that EMI is a democratic step forward especially for French university students who did not previously have access to courses in English. It is presented as advantageous for students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds who will now be able to improve their English skills. The assumption that EMI leads to English language acquisition is occasionally challenged by some who advocate teaching English rather than teaching *in* English.

5.2.3.1 The topos of “democratic right”

EMI is repeatedly presented by EMI supporters as a democratic tool for equal opportunity that will benefit French university students. By giving them access to

courses taught in English, it is argued that they will have the same opportunities as students in the Grandes Ecoles:

Ces nouvelles dispositions visent non seulement à permettre aux étudiants étrangers d'étudier en anglais dans notre pays, mais aussi à corriger une injustice : dans les grandes écoles, les étudiants ont accès à de nombreux cours dispensés en langue étrangère, alors que tel n'est pas le cas à l'université. (MP Feltesse)

These new measures not only aim at enabling foreign students to study in English in our country, but also aim at correcting an injustice whereby students in the Grandes Ecoles have access to many courses in a foreign language but not university students.

The fact that the limited access to EMI is constructed as an “injustice” is significant since the principle of “justice” constitutes one of the core values of social democracy. Later on, Article 2 is discussed in terms of “freedom” when MP Attard states that the bill will give students “la liberté de travailler et de publier dans le monde entier, sans limite” (“*the freedom to work and publish throughout the world without limitations*”). The way in which MPs attach democratic values to EMI reflects the construction of a political ideology. Through the topos of “democratic right”, MPs can make the claim that EMI has the power to bring about social justice:

[O]n est un peu faux cul parce qu'à Sciences Po, où j'enseigne eh bien on parle en anglais et ça veut dire que nos élites ils ont le droit eux de parler en anglais et dans nos universités on n'aurait pas le droit de parler anglais. Et donc il y a une inégalité qui est une inégalité très forte. (MP Le Déaut)

[W]e're all a bit two-faced because at Science Po I teach in English, well we speak in English, this means that elite have the right to speak in English but not in our universities? This strikes me as inequality with a vengeance.

Note how this extract is replete with politically loaded words such as “elites”, “right” (repeated twice) and “inequality” (repeated twice). Those who have the “right” to speak in English (i.e. the “elites”) are juxtaposed against those who do not have the “right”. MP Le Déaut is denouncing the double standards of EMI opponents: courses in English have been tolerated for years in the Grandes Ecoles with no one protesting. Fioraso also points to the “hypocrisy” of their attitudes on several occasions. The use of the term “elite” is particularly interesting and is taken up by Fioraso on two occasions. Construing EMI as a privilege reserved for the elites allows her to frame Article 2 in the light of social justice as she argues EMI should be accessible to all. Article 2 is thus presented as a way of reducing the gap between the elite schools and

public universities: “L’État a le devoir de ne pas laisser se creuser le fossé entre l’enseignement supérieur public et l’enseignement supérieur privé” (“*The state has a duty not to allow the gap to widen between the public and the private sectors of higher education*”) (MP Braillard).

Furthermore, Minister Fioraso continues her justification of EMI by explaining how students from less privileged backgrounds will also benefit from interacting with international students. By insinuating that EMI enables exposure to an international network, she is presenting EMI as a form of “internationalisation at home” (i.e. activities which enable home students to get an international experience without having to go abroad).

5.2.3.2 The topos of “English language acquisition”

The democratisation discourse is based on the premise that EMI leads to English language acquisition. If EMI did not improve students’ English language skills then politicians could not conclude that Article 2 is a democratic measure. The topos of “English language acquisition” thus enables political actors to make the claim that EMI can reduce linguistic inequalities:

Il constitue également une véritable avancée pour les étudiants français qui ne seront plus obligés de s’offrir, pour ceux qui le pouvaient, des séjours à l’étranger pour apprendre une autre langue. Cet article participe ainsi à la démocratisation de l’accès aux langues étrangères. (MP Cordery)

The bill constitutes real progress for French students who will no longer be obliged (at least those who could afford it) to pay for language courses abroad to learn another language. This article therefore contributes to the democratisation of access to foreign languages.

Here Article 2 is portrayed as a solution for linguistic problems. It is suggested that EMI will enable students from lower socio-economic backgrounds to learn English. Most MPs talk about “teaching English” and “teaching in English” as if the two were the same (“cours d’anglais” vs. “cours en anglais”). Whether this slip is intentional or not, it is an argumentative strategy for adopting EMI as it enables politicians to link EMI with greater employability:

[N]os étudiants pourront bénéficier de quelques enseignements en langue étrangère, ce qui facilitera leur insertion professionnelle. Donnons-leur cette chance supplémentaire. Ne la réservons pas aux élèves des écoles ! (Minister Fioraso)

[O]ur students will be able to benefit from courses in a foreign language which will help their integration into the workplace. Let us give them this extra chance and not reserve it for the students from the Grandes Ecoles!

Although there is no proof given to these assumptions, they are nevertheless presented with strong epistemic force (the use of the future tense indicating certitude). The discourse of “EMI for greater employability” becomes intertwined with the discourse of democratisation. It is assumed that EMI will enable local French students to learn English which will in turn help them access better jobs: “Ne pas parler anglais ferme de nombreuses perspectives professionnelles” (“*Not speaking English closes many professional doors*”) (MP Cinieri). Again the notion of opening and closing resurges. EMI is associated with socio-economic opportunities in an unproblematic way and is constructed as a means to achieve socio-economic equality.

In fact nobody denies the existence of linguistic inequalities between students. There is an overall consensus that French university students are generally “bad at English”. While some argue EMI is the solution, EMI opponents favour English classes over classes taught in English. MP Fasquelle contests the topos of “English language acquisition” by pointing out the constant overlap between EMI and English language learning:

De toute façon, vous entretenez une confusion permanente entre la nécessité d'apprendre l'anglais à nos étudiants et la création de cursus en langue anglaise pour attirer les étudiants étrangers en France. Je suis très favorable au renforcement de l'apprentissage de l'anglais dans les universités, mais tel n'est pas le sujet de l'article 2. (MP Fasquelle)

In any case, you continually confuse the necessity of teaching English to our students and the introduction of courses in English to attract foreign students to France. I am very much in favour of reinforcing the teaching of English at university, but this is not the object of the article.

Note how Fasquelle displays strong commitment to his proposition to reinforce English language lessons. He formulates his views directly through the use of the pronoun “I”, taking full responsibility of his personal views (c.f. “principal role” Goffman 1981). By specifying that he is strongly in favour of English language teaching, he portrays himself as a moderate rather than as an anti-English militant. The argument “of course learning English is important” is prevalent amongst EMI opponents. Even MP Myard, the fiercest critic of EMI, acknowledges the importance of teaching English to French students. Hence there is disagreement on how to improve

French students' proficiency in English and the discourse on democratisation is not taken up by all. In this section I have shown how the discourse on democratisation involves a number of assumptions, notably that EMI improves English language competence. This allows pro-EMI MPs to make the claim that EMI can be used as a tool for greater employability, socio-economic equality and social justice.

5.2.4 The ideological configuration of EMI

What I have tried to illustrate in this chapter so far is the discursive construction of EMI. The variety of discourse topics which arise throughout the debates forms a complex interdiscursive mix. As a result, a multitude of ideas gravitate and cohere around EMI. Despite the contentious nature of the debates, after a discursive struggle, key policy concepts are established (such as “attractiveness” and “rayonnement”) providing the lexicon for EMI policy. MPs collectively produce an EMI artefact which becomes a constellation of ideas. Figure 2 depicts the ideological configuration of EMI and includes *some* of the ideas and values which are attached to EMI.

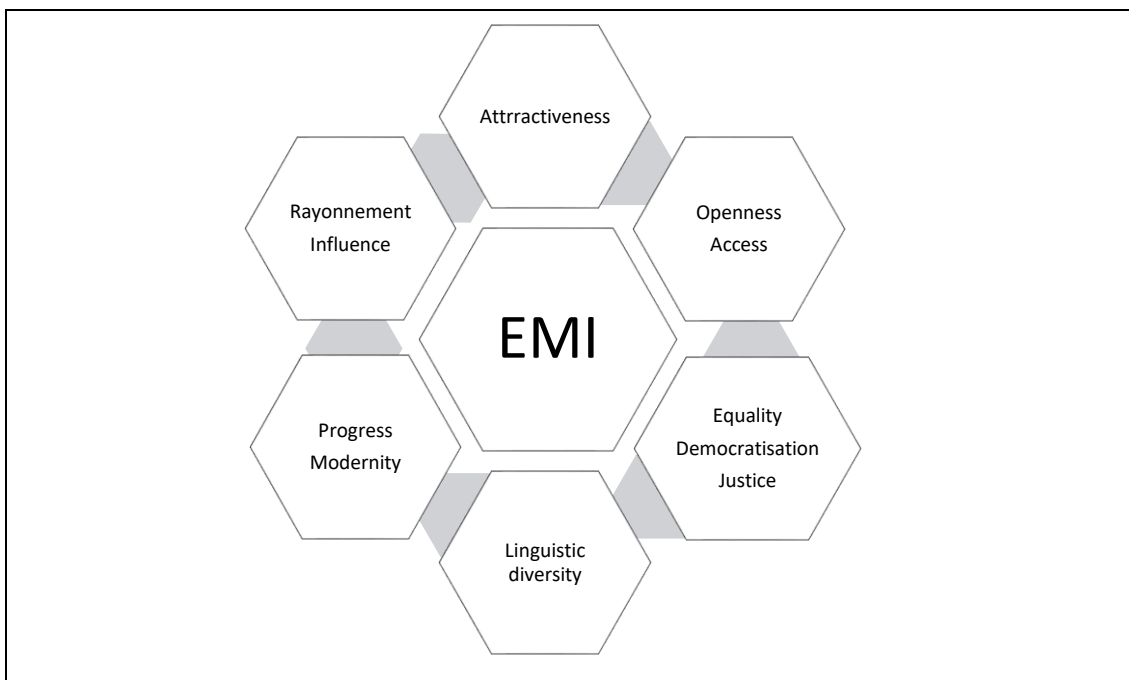


Figure 2. The ideological configuration of EMI

I also argue that the three themes which I identified reveal how EMI is framed as a key political issue: it is discussed as part of France's economic policy (Theme 1: Attracting international students), foreign policy (Theme 2: “Francophonie”) and domestic/social policy (Theme 3: Democratisation). I will now discuss which

elements of the parliamentary debates have been recontextualised into the drafting of Article 2.

5.3 The textual transformations of Article 2

The bill was drafted over a period of several months and was subjected to numerous modifications, revisions and amendments. Table 10 (pages 128-129) traces the evolution and textual transformations of Article 2. It shows four different versions of the policy text: from 20th March 2013 when it was first presented to the National Assembly to 3rd July 2013 when it was adopted by both the National Assembly and the Senate. At first glance, the final version is noticeably longer than the first, suggesting that a number of precisions and conditions have been added. A closer look at the text shows that the first version more or less gives free rein to EMI, whereas the last one tightly controls and limits EMI. The transformation is striking in that it almost appears as a complete turnaround: Article 2 of the Fioraso Law almost goes from facilitating EMI to restricting it.⁴²

Figure 3 below provides a graphical representation of the textual transformations of Article 2. The Y-axis represents the number of words of each version. In terms of the word count, the first version of Article 2 was under 50 words but by July it had reached almost 175 words suggesting that the parliamentary debates may have influenced the text production process. The different colours represent the different legal conditions listed in each individual bill.⁴³ For example, the initial bill has only one condition whereas the final bill has five. The colour scheme illustrates which conditions were kept and which were removed. For instance, if we look at the version of 12th June, we can see that condition 4 (yellow) has disappeared only to be reinserted in the final version.

⁴² A 2013 INED report warns about this: “Elle [la dérogation] pourrait avoir pour effet non pas d’étendre la liberté d’action des universités mais bien de la restreindre” (“*This [special dispensation] could result not in extending the universities’ freedom, but in restricting it*”).

⁴³ Condition 1: Courses can only be taught if there is a pedagogical need to do so.

Condition 2: International students are required to take a French language course.

Condition 3: International students’ proficiency in French is assessed and taken into account for the completion of their degree.

Condition 4: Degrees can only be taught “partly” in English.

Condition 5: International students are required to take a French culture course.

Condition 6: The ministry must approve EMI courses and fix the proportion of courses to be taught in French.

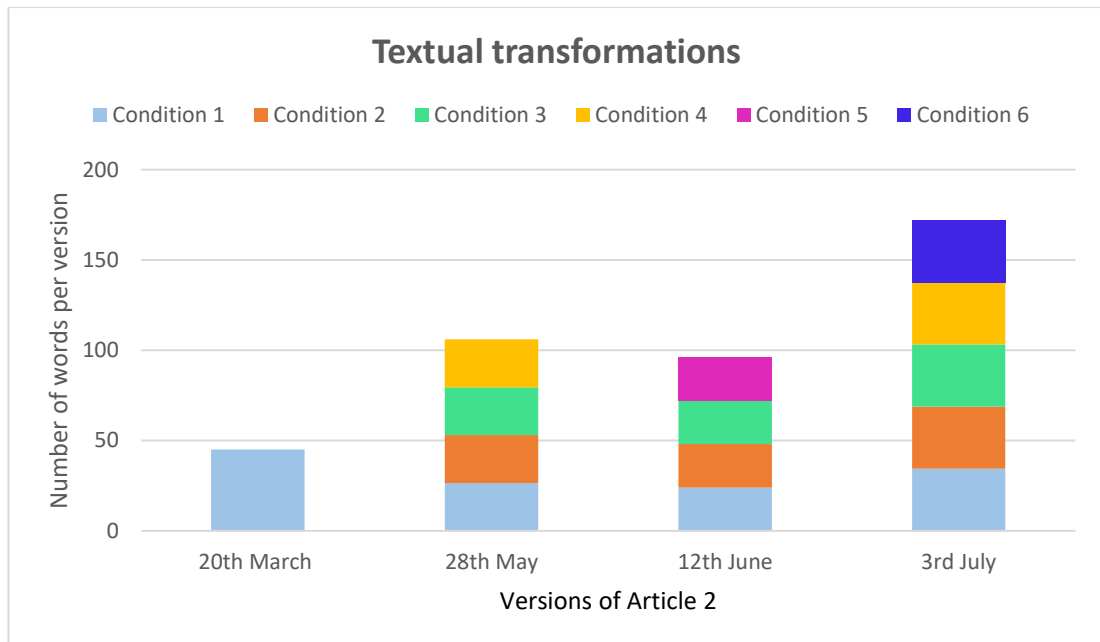


Figure 3. Textual transformations of Article 2

I propose to briefly examine the main amendments and modifications in order to identify which issues from the debates have been recontextualised in the drafting process. A number of conditions were added to the initial bill on 28th May 2013. The following three are particularly revealing:

- Courses can only be taught in English if there is a “pedagogical need” to do so.
- Degrees can only be taught “partly” in English.
- International students are required to take a French language course. Their proficiency in French is assessed and taken into account for the completion of their degree.

Although these conditions are unclear (e.g. what does “partly” mean?) and are open to numerous interpretations, the revisions do show that concerns have been taken into account. It appears that an attempt has been made to limit the use of EMI and provide safeguards. The fact that international students are obliged to learn French is undoubtedly an attempt to reassure Francophonie lobbyists who expressed great concern about the declining status of French. Furthermore, the first two conditions reflect efforts to contain EMI and maintain French as the main medium of instruction.

In the 12th July 2013 version, it is specified that international students must not only learn French but must also take French culture lessons. This reflects the discussions around whether or not EMI poses a threat to French culture. However, this amendment

was later withdrawn because it was deemed too difficult to determine what constitutes “French culture”.

The final bill from 3rd July 2013 is particularly interesting. The last amendment stipulates that courses taught in foreign languages (i.e. English) to French students must enable them to become proficient in the foreign language. This reflects the discussions about the need for French students to improve their English language skills. This amendment was probably added as part of the “democratisation discourse” around EMI. It shows concern for French students when in fact the debates mainly concentrated on attracting international students and on the position of French/France in the world.

5.4 Mismatch between policy text and parliamentary debates

The fact that Article 2 incorporates some concerns voiced throughout the parliamentary debates suggests that the final bill is the product of negotiation and compromise. However, I argue that the final policy paper disproportionately reflects the strongest opinions voiced during the debates. The most vehement critics of EMI are in fact a vocal minority but have considerable influence on the process of policy text production.⁴⁴ Although the parliamentary debates certainly revealed significant resistance to EMI,⁴⁵ the majority of MPs present were in favour of adopting EMI albeit in a moderate and controlled way. The moderation and control are in this sense reflected in the drafting process but perhaps in a stronger way than the actual debates suggest. Hence there seems to be a mismatch between the final language policy document which incorporates discourses of linguistic protectionism and the overall support for EMI expressed during the parliamentary debates.

The final version of Article 2 gives the impression that the Fioraso Law aims to further curb EMI when in fact other surrounding policy texts and discourses suggest otherwise. Indeed, a number of official documents stress the inflexible dispositions of

⁴⁴ The two fiercest opponents of EMI (MP Fasquelle and MP Myard) on average speak more than EMI proponents (excluding the Minister). For example, through the Nvivo software I was able to see that MP Fasquelle’s contributions represent 11.41% in terms of speech coverage and 6.67% for MP Myard whereas other MPs talk less (e.g. MP Attard: 1.73%; MP Buffet: 2.42%).

⁴⁵ When the initial bill was first presented to the National Assembly in March 2013, 112 MPs signed amendments calling for the bill to be repealed. Only later, when the bill had been amended did the majority vote for it.

the Toubon Law. Table 9 below provides some examples of the negative discursive representations of the Toubon Law:

Predication strategies	<p>“Les contraintes législatives semblent totalement archaïques.”</p> <p><i>“The legal restrictions seem totally archaic.”</i></p> <p>(Report to the President of the Republic, 17 Dec 2012, my emphasis)</p>
	<p>“[...] tous les acteurs de l’ESR convergent pour estimer que des dispositions trop rigides vont aujourd’hui à l’encontre des objectifs poursuivis, puisque l’obligation de limiter au français la langue des cursus d’enseignement proposés aux étudiants étrangers les détourne de nos établissements.”</p> <p><i>“[...] all the actors of higher education and research agree that clauses which are too rigid go against the pursued objectives since the mandatory use of French as a medium of instruction turns away foreign students from our universities ”</i></p> <p>(Report to the Prime Minister, 14 Jan 2013, my emphasis)</p>
	<p>“Ces exceptions sont très restrictives et ne correspondent pas à l’évolution des échanges internationaux d’étudiants. Elles handicapent notre pays dans la compétition pour attirer les étudiants étrangers, notamment des pays émergents, et nuisent à l’attractivité de notre système d’enseignement supérieur.”</p> <p><i>“These exceptions are very restrictive and do not correspond to the evolution in international student exchanges. They handicap our country in the competition to attract foreign students, notably from emerging countries and are harmful to the attractiveness of our higher education system.”</i></p> <p>(Impact study on the Bill, 19 March 2013, my emphasis)</p>
	<p>“Aucun pays comparable à la France ne subit la contrainte d’une loi équivalente à la loi Toubon.”</p> <p><i>“No other country comparable to France is subjected to the constraints of a law like the Toubon Law.”</i></p> <p>(Report of the National Assembly Commission, 16 May 2013, my emphasis)</p>
	<p>“Les restrictions aujourd’hui posées par le code de l’éducation sont sources de difficultés.”</p> <p><i>“The restrictions imposed by the Education Code are a source of difficulties.”</i></p> <p>(Report to the Senate Commission, 12 June 2013, my emphasis)</p>

Table 9. Examples of predication strategies regarding the Toubon Law

These statements clearly indicate a desire to relax the legal constraints of the Toubon Law and facilitate EMI courses. It may therefore come as a surprise that in the end, the final version of Article 2 appears to strictly control the use of EMI. It is important to remember that although Article 2 features under the Fioraso Law, it is in fact an extension of the Toubon Law (1994). In this regard, Article 2 has to be in keeping with the protectionist tenor of the Toubon Law. Consequently, the protectionist language found in the final version of the bill is perhaps deliberately accentuated in order to fit into the general tone of the 1994 law.

I argue that the amendments are mostly symbolic. Although the final bill appears to attend to the different ideological stances, the ambiguity of the amendments is intentional. The conditions mentioned above are vague and are open to a myriad of possible interpretations. This was confirmed in my interview with Minister Fioraso when I asked her about one amendment in particular:

MB: Et dans la version finale de cet article, enfin de la loi, il est écrit que les formations d'enseignement supérieur ne peuvent être que "partiellement" proposées en langue étrangère. Qu'est-ce que vous entendez par "partiellement", finalement qu'on peut interpréter un peu=

Minister Fioraso: =Bah c'était bien le but. Il fallait pour obtenir un vote et faire taire la polémique, il fallait quand même négocier sur les amendements puisque y compris à gauche, pour être tout à fait clair, y compris au sein du parti socialiste, il y a toujours...les gens lavent plus blanc que blanc [...] Donc ça ça fait partie des concessions qu'on est obligé de faire, des compromis qu'on est obligé de faire et un amendement a été voté et j'ai fait exprès de dire "partiellement" parce que comme ça, ça laissait toute liberté donc voilà, c'est volontairement vague.

MB: *And in the final version of the article, well of the law, it is stipulated that higher education programmes can only offer courses "partly" in a foreign language. What do you mean by "partly", is it open to different interpretations=*

Minister Fioraso: *=Well this was the goal. To get the law through and to put an end to the controversy, we had to negotiate on the amendments, to be quite honest, even amongst the socialists, there are always hard-liners. So this was one of the concessions, one of the compromises that had to be made and an amendment was passed. I put "partly" on purpose to leave room for manoeuvre, so it was deliberately vague.*

This shows how making concessions is a way of satisfying and appeasing political opponents. From Fioraso's comment, it is possible to assume that the other conditions

are also symbolic rather than legally-binding. The superfluous nature of amendments is also commented on by MP Myard during the debates: “Certes, la commission a apporté quelques modifications au texte initial, mais ces modifications sont purement cosmétiques!” (*“Although the commission has brought some modifications to the initial text, these modifications are purely cosmetic!”*).

The discrepancy between the legal text and the parliamentary debates also reflects the extent to which the French government is torn between policies of linguistic interventionism and laissez-faire. The desire to take part in the competitive international education market is weighed against the centralised model of the nation-state. The list of conditions and safeguards in Article 2 gives a sense that the centralised state is still in control. At the same time, during the parliamentary debates EMI is negotiated alongside discourses promoting French. The final language policy document thus primarily emphasises the defence of French in spite of the majority of MPs voting for Article 2. Hence there is a discrepancy between the way MPs talk about EMI and how these discussions are recontextualised in language legislation.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I presented the salient themes which arose from the parliamentary debates and highlighted the most consensual and contentious topics. Three major themes emerged: EMI for attracting international students, EMI for the promotion of Francophonie and EMI for democratisation. The competing voices within each theme reflected a discursive struggle to influence policy discourse. Each theme was discussed with a particular focus on the discursive strategies used by all participants in the ideological formation of EMI. I showed how MPs try to shape EMI so as to position it within a particular political ideology. As a result, a number of ideas and values get conflated into EMI such as: openness, modernity, attractiveness, “rayonnement”, linguistic/cultural diversity, socio-economic development, employability, social justice and equality. Although the parliamentary debates revealed significant resistance to EMI, I found that the majority of MPs were in favour of adopting EMI albeit in a moderate and controlled way. Below I list the main arguments which were deployed by EMI proponents:

1. EMI attracts international students
2. EMI gives access to emerging markets

3. EMI opens up universities to the world
4. EMI promotes “Francophonie”
5. EMI contributes to France’s “rayonnement” abroad
6. EMI creates equal opportunity and equal access to English
7. EMI improves employability
8. EMI leads to English language competence

This list shows the extent to which EMI at the political level covers a range of topics. The debate around EMI serves as a forum for the discussion of numerous political subjects.

I then proceeded to trace the textual transformations of the bill to see the extent to which the debates influenced the drafting process of the policy document. I found that the final bill was considerably different from the initial draft. While the first version more or less allowed EMI without restriction, the last one tightly controlled EMI. I concluded that there is a discrepancy between the policy document and the parliamentary debates. As the list of assumptions above suggests, EMI was, during the debates, largely perceived as beneficial. The transformation of the policy text however, suggests greater resistance than was actually the case.

This chapter has illustrated the extent to which policies are the product of compromise, multiple voices and competing ideologies. By the time the final text has been adopted it has been reworked so many times that the initial intentions and objectives may be lost. As a result, the bill has almost had the reverse effect. Although Article 2 was initially conceived to make it easier (and legal) for French universities to offer courses in English, in the end, Article 2 appears to limit them.

20 March 2013 Bill presented to National Assembly	28 May 2013 Text adopted by National Assembly
Des exceptions peuvent également être justifiées par la nature de certains enseignements lorsque ceux-ci sont dispensés pour la mise en œuvre d'un accord avec une institution étrangère ou internationale tel que prévu à l'article L. 123-7 ou dans le cadre d'un programme européen.	<p>Des exceptions peuvent également être admises pour certains enseignements lorsqu'elles sont justifiées par des nécessités pédagogiques et que ces enseignements sont dispensés dans le cadre d'un accord avec une institution étrangère ou internationale tel que prévu à l'article L. 123-7 ou dans le cadre d'un programme européen et pour faciliter le développement de cursus et de diplômes transfrontaliers multilingues.</p> <p>Dans ces hypothèses, les formations ne peuvent être que partiellement proposées en langue étrangère. Les étudiants étrangers auxquels sont dispensés ces enseignements bénéficient d'un apprentissage de la langue française. Leur niveau de maîtrise de la langue française est pris en compte pour l'obtention du diplôme.</p>

Table 10. Evolution of Article 2⁴⁶

⁴⁶ See translated version in appendix 15. In red are the changes and modifications with regards to the previous version. In bold are the amendments which have been kept from the previous version.

12 June 2013 Text adopted by Senate Commission	3 July 2013 Text adopted by Senate and National Assembly
<p>Par des nécessités pédagogiques, lorsque les enseignements sont dispensés dans le cadre d'un accord avec une institution étrangère ou internationale tel que prévu à l'article L. 123-7 ou dans le cadre d'un programme européen.</p> <p>Par le développement de cursus et diplômes transfrontaliers multilingues.</p> <p>Les étudiants étrangers, bénéficiant de formations en langue étrangère, suivent un enseignement de la culture française et, lorsqu'ils ne justifient pas d'une connaissance suffisante de la langue française, d'un enseignement de celle-ci. Leur niveau de maîtrise de la langue française est évalué pour l'obtention du diplôme.</p>	<p>Par des nécessités pédagogiques, lorsque les enseignements sont dispensés dans le cadre d'un accord avec une institution étrangère ou internationale tel que prévu à l'article L. 123-7 ou dans le cadre d'un programme européen.</p> <p>Par le développement de cursus et diplômes transfrontaliers multilingues.</p> <p>Dans ces hypothèses, les formations d'enseignement supérieur ne peuvent être que partiellement proposées en langue étrangère et à la condition que l'accréditation concernant ces formations fixe la proportion des enseignements à dispenser en français. Le ministre chargé de l'usage de la langue française en France est immédiatement informé des exceptions accordées, de leur délai et de la raison de ces dérogations.</p> <p>Les étudiants étrangers bénéficiant de formations en langue étrangère suivent un enseignement de langue française lorsqu'ils ne justifient pas d'une connaissance suffisante de cette dernière. Leur niveau de maîtrise suffisante de la langue française est évalué pour l'obtention du diplôme.</p> <p>Les enseignements proposés permettent aux étudiants francophones d'acquérir la maîtrise de la langue d'enseignement dans laquelle ces cours sont dispensés.</p>

Table 10 (continued). Evolution of Article 2

Chapter 6

A local understanding of EMI

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the local understanding and interpretation of EMI by teachers and administrators at the Université Joseph Fourier. Chapter 5 discussed the main themes which surfaced during the parliamentary debates and highlighted the discursive construction of EMI. EMI was discussed as a tool to attract international students, promote Francophonie and create equal opportunity for all. This chapter begins by exploring the themes which emerged from the interviews. Although teachers recognise the potential problems and challenges of EMI, they maintain that teaching in English is not a problem. The belief that EMI is a necessary and legitimate means of learning/teaching science in an internationalised context is supported by the claim that English is the international language of science. The chapter then moves on to discuss two specific points raised during the interviews which contribute to our understanding of the local discursive construction of EMI. The way in which programmes in English are characterised as “international” hints towards deeply held beliefs about the English language. Finally, I show how EMI raises broader socio-political questions such as university selection in France.

6.2 Taking the EMI plunge: sink or swim

6.2.1 “In science it’s English”

One of the strongest claims put forward by the teachers in the interviews is that science happens in English. English is proclaimed *the* language of science par excellence. Such statements feature across 8 out of 10 transcripts. However, what stands out the most is not the frequency of these utterances as such but their illocutionary force. Indeed, the strong epistemic modality of teachers’ utterances is unequivocal. Teachers discuss the position of English in the sciences in factual terms: “la langue scientifique c’est l’anglais donc voilà” (“*the language of science is English, that’s that*”) (Rachel). Note the categorical assertion “is” (present tense) which presents this claim as a universal truth. The unquestionable dominance of English in the sciences is further emphasised by the use of adverbials: “les publications c’est **forcément** en anglais” (“*publications are bound to be in English*”) (Philippe, my emphasis), “en sciences

dures c'est **clairement** l'anglais" (*"the hard sciences are clearly in English"*) (Nathalie, my emphasis), "if you have an article it's in English **no matter what**" (Béatrice, my emphasis). The strong degree of certainty is also reflected in the tone of voice of participants:

Extract 6.1 (Stéphanie)

Enfin je veux dire la place du français, professionnellement, elle n'existe pas hein, voilà elle... C'est pas qu'elle n'existe pas mais peu importe. [...] Mais la langue qu'on utilise au quotidien et pour dialoguer scientifiquement c'est l'anglais. Donc en sciences c'est l'anglais hein, voilà.

Well, what I mean is that, professionally speaking, French does not exist, it... It's not that it doesn't exist, but so what. [...] The language we use on a daily basis and for scientific communication is English. So in science it's English, that's that.

The use of the exclamation "voilà", combined with the interjection "hein" suggests that the question is not even worth debating as it is an undeniable reality. Moreover, the dismissal of French as a working language is revealing. Stéphanie concludes by reaffirming that in science "it's English". Later on, she reiterates this position even more categorically: "Donc on est complètement dans un bain d'anglais hein, complètement" (*"so we are completely in a bath of English, completely"*). The metaphor of the linguistic bath, which in French evokes linguistic immersion (or submersion?), reinforces the impression of the ubiquity of English. Note the use of the "on", which refers to the scientific community of researchers. As scientists, they are surrounded by English. It is interesting how no distinction is made between the language of scientific research and the language of teaching.

Establishing English as *the* language of science forms a premise for all subsequent arguments supporting the decision to teach in English:

Extract 6.2 (Béatrice)

[T]he literature in science is all in English, take the journals, take the scientific journals, there is probably one left in French and that's about it. All the others disappeared. So all the literature is in English right?

Béatrice legitimises EMI as a logical and obvious choice: since the literature is "all" in English, it makes sense to teach in English. Adjectives characterising this "obvious" decision are profuse throughout all interviews ("natural", "inevitable", "vital" etc.). The belief that English is the language of scientific communication inadvertently gets

extrapolated to the field of education where it is assumed that, if research takes place in English, then so should teaching. Although this is never explicitly stated as such, it is implied in numerous statements. The underlying assumption is that research which has been published or communicated in English necessarily feeds into the language of teaching and hence the two cannot be separated.

English as the language of scientific research is construed as a fortuitous result of history: “There was a time in which it was French, now it’s English, perhaps in two centuries it will be Chinese. So English is just now” (Vittorio). By suggesting that “English is **just** now” (my emphasis), Vittorio is implying that English could be replaced by any other language. The notion that languages are interchangeable is also advanced by Philippe:

Extract 6.3 (Philippe)

En fait je pense que l’intérêt de l’enseignement en anglais c’est pas l’anglais en soi, c’est juste la langue parlée par tous les scientifiques du domaine. Si c’était le russe la langue du domaine scientifique, tout le monde parlerait russe... C’est pas près de changer, tous les journaux sont édités en anglais, toutes les lectures sont en anglais donc la raison de l’anglais c’est ça. Tous les laboratoires...à l’étranger, dans tous les laboratoires on parle anglais.

In fact, I think the interest in teaching in English has nothing to do with English itself, it just happens to be the language spoken by all the scientists in the field. If Russian was the language of the scientific field everyone would speak Russian... It’s not about to change either; all the journals are published in English, all the literature’s in English. That’s the reason for English. In all the labs...abroad, in all the labs people speak English.

The use of the present tense gives the passage a universal truth quality and the factual tone portrays the hegemony of English as an agentless natural process. Again the “on” refers to the international scientific community who use English as a lingua franca to communicate and disseminate scientific findings. English is presented above all as a pragmatic choice, as a tool of communication. Note the hyperbolic effect created by the repetition of “**tous** les scientifiques”, “**tout** le monde”, “**tous** les journaux”, “**toutes** les lectures”, “**tous** les laboratoires” (my emphasis) which enhances the omnipresence of English in the sciences. By depicting English as an inescapable reality, the adoption of EMI becomes inevitable. Philippe’s references to the scientific “domain” are significant: EMI is understood in relation to teachers’ disciplinary field. Similarly, Vittorio also evokes the scientific “domain”: “you know papers, books, in our domain,

are all in English”. The possessive pronoun “our” shows how teachers see themselves as part of a wider international scientific community of researchers. The field of science (and more specifically scientific research) is the backdrop against which teachers make sense of EMI.

The lack of differentiation between research and teaching is particularly noticeable in those intervening at the Master’s level. In France, the final year of the Master’s programme is subdivided into two different pathways: research-oriented and professionally-oriented. The interviewees who teach at the Master’s level all teach the “Master de Recherche” (which is the usual route that students who are considering doing a PhD afterwards would take). Philippe, Pia, Stéphanie and Vittorio all use this as a justification for EMI:

Extract 6.4 (Pia)

C’est quand même un Master Recherche donc c’est des étudiants qui à priori veulent suivre en thèse après et là c’est clair, la littérature spécialisée, les publications, les conférences, tout est en anglais donc je trouve que exiger qu’ils aient déjà un niveau convenable au niveau master ça se défend très bien.

After all, it is a research Master’s degree, so the students will normally be going on to do a doctorate and then, quite obviously, everything is in English: specialist literature, publications, conferences, so I think that it is perfectly legitimate to require a decent level [of English].

Note the remark “everything is in English”. EMI is presented here as a way of preparing students for doctoral studies. Participants believe that it is in the students’ interest to practice their English since they will need it afterwards: “tant qu’à faire autant se jeter dans le bain” (“*you may as well jump in at the deep end*”) (Matthieu). Again the metaphor of the bath reappears: “se jeter dans le bain” (or more commonly “se jeter à l’eau”) translates as “to take the plunge” or “jump in at the deep end”. This metaphor suggests an element of uncertainty and irreversibility. The decision to offer English-taught programmes is rooted in the belief that there is no other choice than to adapt and learn English. Philippe contends that, as students progress in their studies, acquiring English becomes increasingly “indispensable”:

Extract 6.5 (Philippe)

Je pense que ça devient de plus en plus indispensable. Plus le niveau augmente plus ça devient pertinent, voilà. Et à partir du master ça me semble être une bonne chose, sachant qu’après, en thèse, bah ils ont plus le choix.

I think that it becomes more and more necessary. The further the students go the more relevant it gets. By the time they get to a Master's, it's a good thing, since once they start preparing a doctorate they no longer have any choice.

As English becomes more and more relevant, French becomes less and less so. The underlying assumption is that French as a medium of instruction is appropriate for a French context but not for an international one. Teachers justify EMI by arguing that English has become a basic skill in science, hence students have no other “choice” but to acquire it. Matthieu recalls how tired he was when he first started teaching in English: “Au début je finissais j'étais MOrt mais...il faut se jeter dans le bain quoi” (*“At the beginning when I would finish [my class] I was SHattered but...you just need to take the plunge”*). This recurrent expression indicates an ambivalent attitude towards EMI. However unpleasant or difficult it may be to teach in English, teachers must just get on with it. Nathalie also associates courses in English with learning how to swim:

Extract 6.6 (Nathalie)

C'est aussi un peu, “on vous met dans la piscine vous apprendrez à nager”, il y a un peu de ça, alors qu'en licence c'est sur la base du volontariat, donc je veux dire il y a pas de problème, s'ils arrivent pas à nager ils retournent dans le petit bassin il y a pas de problème [smiles].

It's also a bit like, “We'll throw you in the big pool and then you'll learn to swim”. It's a bit like that, but at the Bachelor's level they have the choice. So I mean there is no problem, if they can't manage to swim they go back to the paddling pool [smiles].

Undergraduates have the choice between programmes taught in English (big pool) or French (small pool) whereas at Master's level this is no longer the case, they have to swim in the big pool. The imagery reveals important language ideologies. By comparing French-medium instruction to a children's swimming pool and EMI to an adult one, it reinforces the idea that French is only appropriate for the national context and English is suitable for the world stage. Students and teachers alike appear to have no other choice than to take the plunge, for better or for worse. This constructed “reality” is one of global competition where you either adapt or fall behind: “typically at the Master's level, more and more universities in the EU [...] are going to do their teaching in English. If we don't do that, we are going to be far behind” (Béatrice). Hence EMI is construed as a way of participating in the competitive internationalised higher education arena.

6.3 EMI is not a problem (or is it?)

6.3.1 “We don’t speak English, we speak Globish”

Throughout the interviews, teachers maintain that teaching in English is not a problem. One of the main arguments to support this claim is that they use “scientific English” not English. Seven out of ten participants believe that teaching science requires limited proficiency in English. They contend that the type of English used in the scientific domain is simply a form of Basic English with specialised scientific terminology: “l’anglais scientifique c’est pas compliqué quoi” (“*I mean scientific English isn’t difficult*”) (Rachel). The idea that “scientific English” is simple is echoed by Béatrice: “So it’s very simple, very short sentences, so in fact you don’t need to express complex ideas...you’re crude right?”. Furthermore, “scientific English” is constructed as a tool of communication which should be kept as basic as possible:

Extract 6.7 (Stéphanie)

Les articles scientifiques sont aussi pauvres parce que, les phrases sont courtes, parce qu'il s'agit d'expliquer des choses qui sont pas faciles en fait, donc on va pas mettre la difficulté dans le vocabulaire employé dans la mesure où le concept lui-même n'est pas forcément simple.

The language in scientific articles is also rather basic because, the sentences are short because it's a question of explaining things which are not, in fact, simple; so you are not going to add difficulty by using complicated vocabulary when the concept itself is not always simple.

The fact that the point of reference for EMI is the type of English which is found in scientific articles is significant. Again, the boundary between the language used for research and the language used for teaching is blurred. These normative claims have important implications.

It is interesting that three different teachers argue that “science is not literature”. It is possible that this remark is made because they are aware of my background in English literature. Stéphanie makes this comparison when I ask her about her students’ level in English. She requires her students to have a B2 level, even though “c’est pas de la littérature, c’est de la science” (“*it’s not literature, it’s science*”). While I am interviewing Matthieu, he stops to show me some course materials that he has prepared for his next class and comments: “voilà, c’est pas de la littérature hein c’est de la science” (“*so you see, it’s not literature it’s science*”). Béatrice even goes as far as

stating that “you don’t even need to know English in order to be able to speak about science in English”.⁴⁷ When I ask her to explain what she means she replies:

Extract 6.8 (Béatrice)

We don’t speak English, we speak Globish right? So we don’t care about the quality of the English. I mean we care first of all about the science. So you want to understand the science, the goal is not to be Shakespeare right? So we don’t want to write literature in English but we want to be able to decipher just a regular article, a science article.

The “we” again suggests a collective identity. The use of the word “Globish” is particularly intriguing. While in the parliamentary debates “Globish” is used in an extremely pejorative way, here Béatrice appropriates it to refer to her own use of English as a scientist. In this context, “Globish” denotes a simplified form of English used by all scientists; it refers to the international language for scientific dissemination and communication. Similarly, Rachel explains that scientists across the world speak in a “jargon” (meaning here an approximate, impoverished version of English). This discursive representation of “scientific English” as a global lingua franca effectively removes it from any cultural or political associations. Moreover, the way in which Béatrice juxtaposes English and “Globish” alongside literature and science (respectively) creates a divide between language teachers (who speak English) and science teachers (who speak “Globish”). She dismisses the language aspect by arguing that it is “science before everything” (Béatrice).

A recurrent idea is that professors are there to teach science not English. Indeed, Matthieu believes that students are there for the science, not the language:

Extract 6.9 (Matthieu)

Ils savent très bien qu’ils vont pas forcément avoir des profs qui ont l’accent de Cambridge ou d’Oxford... L’important c’est de leur faire passer le message scientifique, ils sont là pour la chimie.

They know very well that they won’t necessarily have lecturers with Oxford or Cambridge accents... What counts is for them to get the scientific message, they’re here for the chemistry.

Participants view themselves above all as science experts and not as language specialists. It is interesting that even Carl, the native English speaker makes this distinction: “I go into the class telling them that this is not an English class”. This

⁴⁷ She later mitigates this statement by specifying that to teach in English it is necessary to “feel comfortable”.

shows how EMI is interpreted by teachers as purely content-driven. Although content and language are interdependent, they are construed by teachers as separate. The focus is entirely on the “scientific message” and language appears to be secondary. Teachers are more concerned with the scientific content and effective communication than with correctness: “I don’t really care if the English is correct as long as it is understandable” (Carl). For Nathalie, it does not really matter what language science is taught in since, in her view, the language of science is universal:

Extract 6.10 (Nathalie)

Par exemple moi j’écris ‘delta r H’ donc c’est ‘delta petit r H’ et c’est pareil dans TOUTES les langues hein!... Donc au pire le même même s’il comprend rien à ce que je raconte il a l’équation au tableau quoi! [laughs] Je veux dire c’est ça! Le prof en Chine il écrira le ‘delta le petit r le H égal’ tac tac tac PAREIL quoi !... Le petit blabla autour il sera en chinois mais la réaction chimique elle est eXACTement la même!

For example, I write ‘delta r H’ so it’s ‘delta small r H’ and it’s the same thing in ALL languages!... So at worst, even if the kid doesn’t understand a word I’m saying, he’s got the equation on the board, right?! [laughs]. I mean that’s it! The lecturer in China will write ‘delta small r H equals’ hey presto, the SAME!... The chit-chat around it will be in Chinese but the chemical reaction is the same!

The lexical choice “blabla” shows the extent to which language is regarded as insignificant. What transpires from this extract is that subject knowledge and expertise take precedence over linguistic proficiency. Furthermore, she is implying that a chemistry lesson is essentially the same whether you are in France or China. By this logic, EMI is transposable across all countries. This instrumental view of language supposes that the medium is perfectly interchangeable, regardless of the politico-cultural and socio-linguistic context.

If teachers do not speak English but “Globish” and “Globish” is not even that difficult or important, then EMI is not a problem. The way in which the significance of EMI is minimised reveals strongly held beliefs about language. Teachers rely on the assumption that the medium of instruction is ideologically neutral and purely instrumental. Furthermore, “scientific English” (or “Globish”) is constructed as a variety of English which belongs to the international community of science and is accessible to all scientists. Since the subject-specific terminology is virtually the same in English and in French, it is believed that “scientific English” is easy to master. By presenting “scientific English” as the appropriate and legitimate language in the field

of science, teachers are also portraying it as the accepted variety for EMI. This then allows teachers to make the claim that their own proficiency in English is sufficient.

6.3.2 “We’re not all pros in English...”

In this section I discuss how teachers talk about their own proficiency in English and more specifically about the challenges they encounter. While overall, teachers believe that EMI is not a problem, many still openly concede that EMI presents a number of challenges. A common feature across all interviews is that participants tend to expose their various difficulties and subsequently negate them. While Rachel argues that giving a lecture in English is no problem at all, she explains that difficulties arise during seminars, when there are verbal exchanges between teachers and students. Whilst a lecture can be prepared in advance, the spontaneity of classroom interaction is a challenge as she feels “limited” and “restricted”: “Je trouve qu’on est quand même un peu limité dans les interactions qu’on a, parce que finalement ça sort pas aussi facilement” (*“I find we are a bit limited in our interactions because in the end the words don’t come out as easily”*). Here the “on” specifically refers to the French-speaking teacher community. The collective pronoun is perhaps used as a face-saving strategy to reduce self-exposure. It gives the impression that this is a shared experience rather than a personal problem. She repeatedly comments on her level of English and the fact that she is not an “Anglophone” (i.e. a native speaker):

Extract 6.11 (Rachel)

On est pas tous des pros en anglais quoi et du coup les échanges d'informations sont quand même assez limités [...]. On ne parle pas tous PARfaitement anglais hein [...] je ne parle pas couramment couramment [sic] l'anglais et c'est vrai qu'en travaux pratiques c'est compliqué.

Well, we’re not all pros in English and so the exchanges of information are somewhat limited [...]. We don’t all speak English PERFECTLY [...] I don’t speak English fluently fluently and it’s true that it’s complicated in lab sessions.

These remarks suggest a feeling of uneasiness. My fieldwork notes indicate a fairly difficult start to the interview where Rachel appears nervous and slightly on the defensive. As an English-speaking researcher from a UK university, my position seems to be experienced as a threat, as if I am there to evaluate her English. Although EMI is, on the whole, construed by participants as non-problematic, it is interesting to note how teachers are to a greater or lesser degree confident in their own proficiency

in English. Even though Rachel believes that she speaks English better than the average French person (“le Français de base”), she is by far the one who is the least confident about her own fluency in English. The disclosure of her perceived limitations functions as a disclaimer. Throughout the interview she insists on how much effort is required to teach in English, reminding me that teachers do this voluntarily and do the best they can. However, when I ask her whether she thinks EMI courses will continue to proliferate, she enthusiastically answers: “Bah j’espère! Enfin moi dans l’idéal j’aimerais bien qu’il y ait des modules qui soient exclusivement en anglais” (“*Well I hope so! I mean ideally I would like all the courses to be given entirely in English*”). The apparent volte-face suggests that positive beliefs about EMI exceed any concerns or insecurities.

The way in which participants readily share with me their lack of fluency in English is revealing. They underplay their weaknesses by using mitigation strategies. Nathalie admits that speaking is the most difficult for science teachers: “on sait très bien lire et très bien écrire, on comprend, mais on parle pas, enfin je caricature hein mais...l’endroit où on est le moins bon c’est l’oral, c’est parler” (“*we read and write very well, we understand, but we don’t speak, well I am exaggerating a bit but...the area where we struggle the most is orally, it’s speaking*”). After openly conceding that speaking in English is problematic, she nevertheless maintains that, in the sciences, the vocabulary is so similar in French and English that, on the whole, EMI is still not a problem:

Extract 6.12 (Nathalie)

Alors il peut y avoir des ambiguïtés de vocabulaire, **mais** c’est vraiment la marge quoi, il y a quelques mots qui correspondent pas TOUT à fait ou qui peuvent être ambigus, **mais** enfin il y en a pas toutes les 5 minutes quoi, faut pas non plus... Un état de transition c’est ‘transition state’, je veux dire c’est... La fonction d’onde c’est ‘wave function’. [my emphasis]

Well there can be some ambiguities in the vocabulary, but this is really marginal; there are some words that don’t QUITE match and can be ambiguous, but that doesn’t happen every five minutes, so you mustn’t... ‘Un état de transition’ is a ‘transition state’, I mean it’s... ‘La fonction d’onde’ is ‘wave function’.

Note how each concession is hedged with a clause beginning with “but” (see text in bold). It is conceded that there may be difficulties but these are minor. Similar mitigation strategies are deployed by others who also minimise their limitations:

Extract 6.13 (Stéphanie)

J'ai pas un excellent niveau en anglais, je manque pas mal de vocabulaire [...] il me manque souvent des mots clés [...]. Voilà je m'aperçois que c'est en grammaire que je suis pas très bonne [...] **sinon** je comprends bien et je parle bien quoi, **enfin** je parle couramment en fait. [my emphasis]

I don't have an excellent level in English; I lack quite a lot of vocabulary [...] often I lack key words [...]. I can see that my grammar is not very good [...] but I understand well and I can speak well, all in all, I speak fluently in fact.

Although Stéphanie admits that she may lack vocabulary or grammar, she still concludes that she is fluent in her field. It is interesting how she appears to reconsider the notion of fluency and applies it to her own use of English within the scientific domain. Similarly, Vittorio believes his own use of English is not only adequate for the scientific field but even more appropriate than the native speaker standard:

Extract 6.14 (Vittorio)

At least we [international professors] don't speak with a French accent [...] there was even a British, he was the only professor that nobody could understand of course, he was speaking perfect British.

Although this comment is humorous, it is interesting to hear how he dismisses the native speaker accent. Participants clearly establish that they are not native speakers but then mitigate this by arguing that subject expertise (and knowledge of content specific vocabulary) is more important. In other words, proficiency in English does not determine teacher competency. The native speaker ideal is even challenged by Carl, the American teacher: "It's possible that one of my biggest faults is that I speak English too well and so I lose a few [students]". Carl believes it is his 20 years of teaching experience that make him a well-regarded teacher, rather than his proficiency in English. Nevertheless, he does enjoy some advantages of teaching in his own language:

Extract 6.15 (Carl)

I know a whole lot more chemistry jokes in English than I know in French! [laughs] [...] I think the fact that I can come out and explain what a fudge factor is and what it means to fudge results, which frankly, I don't think any of my Francophone colleagues are ever going to explain, because they probably aren't familiar with the terms... That I can get off topic a little bit [smiles] and talk about certain aspects of English culture just appeals to them [students], that's all.

While Carl may have some advantages over other teachers, overall teachers do not feel that there is much difference teaching in French or in English. In fact some even claim that EMI is easier:

Extract 6.16 (Rachel)

Bon le cours oui, pas de souci, le cours c'est même plutôt plus simple à faire un cours en anglais qu'en français, c'est moins alambiqué, c'est plus direct, c'est simple, on sait faire quoi, ça y'a pas de souci.

For the class, yes, no problem, it's actually easier to do a class in English than in French; it's less complicated, more straightforward, simpler, we know how to do this, there's no problem.

Although Rachel finds seminars challenging, lectures are portrayed as being straightforward. By associating EMI with simplicity and clarity, Rachel is suggesting that EMI is a more efficient and pragmatic choice. This further reinforces the idea that EMI is simply a tool. It is interesting how linguistic challenges are sometimes even turned into a pedagogical advantage:

Extract 6.17 (Matthieu)

L'avantage c'est que comme il y a certaines finesses de vocabulaire que je peux pas employer parce que j'ai pas les connaissances linguistiques suffisantes, des fois je simplifie les explications, c'est peut-être plus clair. J'en suis à me demander des fois.

The advantage is that as I don't have a very sophisticated vocabulary because I don't have sufficient linguistic skills, I sometimes simplify my explanations and maybe that makes it clearer. I wonder about this sometimes.

The fact that lack of nuance and limited vocabulary are considered as a potential “advantage” is somewhat paradoxical (although the mitigating adverb “peut-être” indicates uncertainty). This shows the extent to which the perceived benefits of EMI outweigh any disadvantages.

Hence there is no attempt on behalf of teachers to conceal any challenges since these are considered trivial. Many participants seem open about the pitfalls of EMI but their light-hearted tone suggests these are inconsequential. They do not hesitate to recount some amusing anecdotes:

Extract 6.18 (Matthieu)

M: Ça m'est arrivé de faire des belles boulettes, vraiment des belles boulettes de prononciation ! Ah oui ! J'en ai fait une

fois [laughs]... La première année que j'enseignais aux Boston [students from Boston university], j'ai fait la fameuse erreur de prononciation sur le verbe... [Gets up to write on the board the verb "focus"]

MB: Ah oui ! [laughs]

M: Ça les a bien fait marrer. Parce que je disais "Now we are going to focus" [pronounced 'fuck us'] [laughs] Après tout le reste du cours je disais "Now we are going to pay attention to..." [laughs] Ils avaient tous un petit sourire [smiles].

M: I sometimes make big blunders, I mean really big blunders in pronunciation. Oh yes! Once I made one [laughs]... The first year I was teaching the Boston University students, I made the famous pronunciation mistake on the verb...[Gets up to write on the board the verb 'focus']

MB: Oh, yes! [laughs]

M: That made them laugh. Because I said: 'Now we are going to focus' [pronounced 'fuck us'] [laughs]. For the rest of the class I said: 'Now we are going to pay attention to...' [laughs]. They all had a little smile [smiles].

His jovial tone and laughter indicate that for him pronunciation is not really an issue either. Similarly, Nathalie jokes about the difficulty for French speakers of pronouncing the English "th":

Extract 6.19 (Nathalie)

Faut juste faire des "ffou" [mimicking "th" sound] en chimie tout le temps parce que c'est éthyle machin méthyle, c'est assez pénible ces "th"! [laughs] Tout le temps! [laughs] C'est pas fait pour nous!

You just have to make the sound 'fe' [mimicking "th" sound] all the time in chemistry because it's ethyl here and methyl there; they're a nuisance these 'th' sounds! [laughs] All the time ! [laughs] This does not suit us at all!

These attitudes reflect the extent to which EMI is considered unproblematic. Despite challenges in pronunciation and vocabulary, difficulties making the class lively and speaking spontaneously, the overall sentiment is that EMI is not a problem. Vittorio concedes that he may be a "better teacher" in his own language (i.e. Italian), because "teaching is about making something understandable and it can help when you can say the same thing in many different ways". Nevertheless, he maintains that: "Giving the class in English in the end is the easiest thing to do. If you're not an idiot I mean you can give a class in English". In the opinion of science teachers, EMI is not a problem as they are exposed to English on a regular basis in their daily scientific research activities.

The way in which teachers portray themselves above all as science teachers could be interpreted as a form of face-saving strategy. Dismissing language could be a way of preserving positive self-presentation in case of linguistic errors. However, while this may be true to a certain extent for some participants, I argue that teachers overwhelmingly perceive EMI as straightforward. As illustrated above, teachers willingly evoke their linguistic difficulties with me, suggesting how little importance they attach to English proficiency. They relate EMI to their own specific disciplines and for them, speaking “scientific English” (or Globish) is sufficient for their own particular needs and practices. Teachers collectively construct “scientific English” as the appropriate linguistic code for being accepted in the international scientific community. Hence authority and credibility in the field are achieved through subject expertise and content knowledge (including specialised terminology in English) rather than through general linguistic proficiency.

6.3.3 “University recommends B2, I don’t care about that”

During the interviews I actively enquire about the entry requirements (i.e. pre-requisites) for EMI programmes. Because each EMI programme at the UJF is different, my aim was to get a better understanding of how students are selected (or not) and who is attending these courses. Beyond the logistics and technicalities of who is allowed to enrol or not, this enabled me to get further insight into how teachers view EMI courses.

While each programme has its own specific set of official entry requirements, it is interesting how teachers do not necessarily follow them and in some cases are not even aware of them. As heads of programmes, all teachers take part in the admissions process yet all have slightly different views regarding the requirements for students to follow courses in English. For example, officially, for the Bachelor of Science in Biology, students are selected on the basis of their marks in Physics-Chemistry, Maths, Biology and English. However, Rachel admits she does not really select students as such: “on n’a pas fait de véritable sélection” (“*we didn’t really do a selection as such*”). Note the hedging adjective which mitigates the term “selection”. While she does pay attention to science marks she tends to overlook the level in English. Hence the focus is on the science subjects rather than on language. Similarly, Béatrice

explains how she looks at students' science marks "first" and then English. Proficiency in English is considered secondary by a number of teachers in the selection process.

It is worth noting how participants talk about language requirements with different degrees of commitment. Matthieu, for instance, signals a lack of commitment: "on leur demande aussi une certification en anglais qui soit au moins de niveau B2, B1 **ou** B2 **je crois, un truc comme ça**" ("we also ask them [the students] for an English language certification which is at least a B2, B1 or B2 level, I think, something like that") (Matthieu, my emphasis). Note how this utterance is mitigated by various hedging expressions (see text in bold above). His tentative tone illustrates that he is in fact unsure about the level of English required. On the other hand, Vittorio displays strong commitment with regards to entry requirements. The UJF recommends that students have a B2 level in English (or IELTS equivalent) to enrol in international programmes but Vittorio chooses to ignore this: "University recommends B2, I don't care about that, they [the students] send me IELTS and I don't care about that, I just call them and see whether they are able to discuss". The illocutionary force of these utterances can be seen through the repetition of the expression "I don't care about that". He completely dismisses official guidelines to implement his own rules. He explains that he evaluates students' English by exchanging emails with them and through Skype:

Extract 6.24 (Vittorio)

In a few minutes you realise whether the student can make it or not so...if their English is as good as my English, which means a little that you can understand each other, attend the class, write an exam in English, that's fine to me.

According to him, limited proficiency in English is sufficient to study science. The way in which he makes up his own rules differs significantly from other teachers who tend to rely solely on marks, levels (i.e. B1, B2 etc.) and scores (such as IELTS, TOEFL etc.). Stéphanie mentions eight times that she requires her students to have a B2 level in English. She expresses this with strong illocutionary force: "j'exige qu'ils aient un niveau B2 [...] c'était ma décision" ("I demand a B2 level [...] that was my decision"). However, it is clear from the rest of the interview that for her, knowledge in physics and maths is more important than English language competence. While students need a minimum level in English, the focus is primarily on their scientific knowledge. Later on in the interview, Stéphanie openly concedes that she does not

look at the students' level in English. After a long detailed description about the selection process of her international Master's programme, Stéphanie has still not mentioned anything about English, so I ask her about it. Her answer is revealing:

Extract 6.25 (Stéphanie)

MB: Et vous regardez les notes d'anglais aussi ou pas?

S: Nnnnon [hesitation] en fait euhh...euh...non vous avez raison. Alors moi je regarde pas les notes...parce que comme j'ai marqué sur le site web qu'il fallait un niveau minimal, j'ai indiqué la note minimale du TOEFL qu'il fallait avoir, ou du TOEIC, pareil pour IELTS, les étudiants font très attention eux-mêmes à m'envoyer la justification de ça mais...mais...mais l'UJF ne le regarde pas par exemple.

MB: *And do you look at their grades in English ?*

C: *No [hesitation] in fact...no...you're right. Well I don't look at the grades...because, as I've indicated on the website, that they need a minimum level, I've indicated a minimum TOEFL score or a TOEIC or IELTS score, the students themselves make sure that they send me their scores, but...but... but the UJF does not check this, for example.*

This question appears to momentarily unsettle her. The numerous hesitations, especially at the beginning of the passage, suggest that perhaps this is an omission on her part. She first admits that she does not look at students' marks in English but then quickly justifies this decision by arguing that since it is listed on the website as a pre-requisite that she does not need to check.

Overall, the general tendency is to ignore language policy recommendations and downplay the role of English. Selection is done mainly through disciplinary subjects. I argue that this is in part due to the fact that teachers believe EMI is “not a problem”. If, for teachers, “scientific English” is easy and science matters more than language, then it makes sense to place less emphasis on language in the entry requirements. This shows how beliefs about EMI can be put into practice.

6.4 The ideal EMI

Just by looking at Table 11, one can see that EMI classes come in many different forms in terms of the first language of teachers, level of teaching and subject, classroom composition, number of students and percentage of programme taught in English. Despite these variations, participants share a similar understanding of what EMI is or at least should be.

Name and first language	Level of teaching ⁴⁸	Subject	Classroom composition	Number of students (approx.)	% of programme taught in English
Béatrice (FR)	Licence	Chemistry/ Biology	French	15	50%
Rachel (FR)	Licence	Biology	French	30	75%
Carl (ENG)	Licence	Chemistry/ Biology	French	50	50%
Matthieu (FR)	Licence	Chemistry/ Biology	Mostly French	20	50%
	M1	Chemistry	Mostly French	10	80%
Philippe (FR)	M1/ M2 Recherche	Chemistry	Mostly French	10	90%
Pia (GER)	M2 Recherche	Physics	Mostly French	10	100%
Stéphanie (FR)	M2 Recherche	Engineering	Mostly international	15	100%
Vittorio (IT)	M2 Recherche	Engineering	Mostly international	40	100%

Table 11. EMI variations

6.4.1 “Exclusively in English”

Even though the majority of programmes at the UJF are not *entirely* in English (i.e. 100% in English), there is an overwhelming belief that all courses that make up a programme should be given in English. EMI at UJF is flexible in that teachers can structure programmes more or less as they like since there are no strict policy guidelines. Despite this flexibility, teachers have a fairly rigid understanding of what EMI programmes should be like. Vittorio is proud of being the first one to have set up a degree exclusively in English at the UJF.⁴⁹ He describes the process as “le parcours du combattant” (“*an obstacle course*”), insisting on how at first, the university was extremely reluctant to deliver courses in English. He positions himself as a policy maker: “I decided from the very beginning to have this rule that everything is in English”. As the pioneer of EMI at the UJF, he established his own rules. Vittorio has strict ideas as to what EMI programmes are and mentions the existence of “fake English programmes” in the university. The idea that there are “real” and “fake” English-taught programmes reflects his strong normative beliefs. For him, English-taught programmes are like contracts, if some courses are taught in French then it is “like breaking a contract”. The comparison suggests a rather inflexible

⁴⁸ Licence=Bachelor; M=Master

⁴⁹ This even features in his CV (available online), listed under “key achievements”: “In 2007 [Vittorio] created and has since directed the international master’s program in Geomechanics, Civil Engineering and Risks in Grenoble (all courses are given in English – which is quite an achievement for a French university!).”

monolithic/monolingual vision of EMI. Two other teachers explain how they would have liked the whole programme to be entirely in English: “alors l’objectif initial c’était 100%” (“*The initial objective was 100%*”) (Rachel). She comments: “Moi je trouve que c’est un programme un peu trop hybride personnellement et je trouve qu’il faudrait que dans ce programme tout soit enseigné en anglais” (“*Personally I think that the programme is little too hybrid and I think everything should be taught in English*”). The word “hybrid” has a negative connotation here. It suggests that a mix of courses taught in French and in English is undesirable. Similarly, Philippe originally had planned for all lectures and seminars to be taught in English but when he realised that some French students could not keep up, he decided to keep the seminars in French: “c’est dommage parce que c’est pas le but du tout” (“*it’s a pity because this wasn’t at all the plan*”). This comment shows how, ideally, he would have preferred the programme to be entirely in English. Hence all participants have their own personal sense of how EMI should be implemented even though these beliefs are not necessarily put into practice. The enthusiasm for EMI courses stretches across all levels of teaching with teachers getting more or less actively involved in the creation of EMI programmes.

The grassroots movement for programmes exclusively in English is commented on by Nathalie, the VP of International Relations. She explains how gradually, over the years, teachers began creating their own EMI courses to the extent that she had to intervene to curtail their attempts. While she supports programmes in English at the Master’s level, she is much more reluctant to do so at the undergraduate level. As an administrator, she attempts to limit the push for EMI:

Extract 6.20 (Nathalie)

Par exemple les biologistes voulaient tout faire passer en anglais et **moi j’ai dit mais non**, d’abord on n’est pas...enfin on n’a pas les moyens d’accueillir [...] **enfin je veux dire c’est HORS de question**, déjà accueillons bien ceux [the students] qu’on a et on réfléchira après [...] il y a des cours qu’on pouvait passer en anglais et moi j’ai...**il y en a que j’ai pas voulu qu’on passe en anglais** parce que je trouve que c’est intéressant qu’ils l’apprennent en français, parce que suivant le métier qu’ils vont faire, ils vont être en contact avec des gens qui vont parler français donc s’ils connaissent tout qu’en anglais à un moment... Donc les bases scientifiques qui soient apprises en français ET en anglais c’est bien, mais qu’en anglais c’est pas bien, enfin selon moi. [my emphasis]

For example, the biologists wanted all courses to be taught in English and I said 'No', first, we don't have...well, we don't

have the means to offer [...] well, I mean it is OUT of the question; first let's make sure we can properly deal with those who are already [receiving classes in English] and then we'll see [...] there are classes that could be given in English but, as far as I'm concerned...there are classes that I don't want taught in English because I think it is also interesting for them to learn in French, because, according to the job they do later, they may be in contact with people who are going to speak French, so if they only know everything in English... Learning the basics in science in both English AND French is right; but just in English is not right, at least in my opinion.

This excerpt reveals a struggle for power, where Nathalie, the language policy “arbiter”, tries to reposition the Biology teachers as “implementers” (Johnson and Johnson 2014). The passages in bold reflect how she (re)asserts her power and attempts to contain bottom-up initiatives. She is against programmes being taught exclusively in English at the undergraduate level. Her appeal for bilingual programmes rather than English-only reveals a more flexible view of EMI. However, she is the only one who insists on the importance of maintaining some courses in French.

Not only do teachers believe that all courses on EMI programmes should (ideally) be taught in English, they also believe that individual EMI classes should be in English-only (i.e. teacher-student verbal interaction, assessment, course materials, etc.). During the interviews, I try to get a better understanding of what “courses in English” means for teachers, since they seem to see this as self-explanatory: “When we say ‘courses in English’ that means courses are taught in English, evaluation is done in English, everything is done in English” (Béatrice). I enquire about what teachers actually mean when they state that “everything” is in English:

Extract 6.21 (Stéphanie)

MB: Et les programmes ils sont 100% en anglais du coup?

S: Yes, they have to. Oui, bien sûr, bien sûr.

MB: Les évaluations...les=

S: =Ah oui.

MB: Les ‘course materials’ tout ça ?

S: Ah bah oui, bien sûr, bien sûr, absolument rien en français.

MB: And all the courses are 100% in English then?

S: Yes, they have to. Yes, of course, of course.

MB: The assessments...the=

S: =Yes

MB: The course materials and all that?

S: Yes, yes, of course, nothing at all in French.

The assertive tone in her reply is undeniable. The code switching “yes, they have to” gives greater illocutionary force to her final claim that “absolutely nothing” should be in French.

During the interviews, I ask about language practices within the EMI classroom and teachers mention how some students often use French. Some remarks are particularly revealing. For instance, Rachel expresses discomfort that students speak in French amongst themselves: “ils s’adressent à nous en anglais, on leur répond en anglais mais entre eux ils parlent en français...et ça c’est un peu bancal quand même, c’est un peu compliqué” (“*they speak to us in English, we reply in English but amongst themselves they speak French...and that’s a bit lop-sided, it’s slightly problematic*”) (Rachel). The adjective “bancal” once again suggests a monolingual interpretation of EMI. Similarly, Vittorio is “not very happy” with the fact that Lebanese students tend to speak French with his French colleagues: “my French colleagues will tend to speak French to the [Lebanese] students [...] but this I don’t like it”. These participants have a monolithic view of EMI which leaves little space for flexibility and other languages. This is not to say that teachers do not value linguistic diversity and multilingualism. On the contrary, they encourage students to learn other languages but *outside* the science classroom. Unsurprisingly, there is a gap between the discursive construction of an ideal monolingual EMI and the teachers’ account of their actual practices. While in theory they would like to avoid the use of French, in practice they are not as inflexible. Philippe, for instance, explains that teachers “are not walls” and that the use of French is not forbidden:

Extract 6.22 (Philippe)

J’arrive, je parle anglais, si un mot m’échappe tant pis je le reprends en français, enfin c’est assez décontracté, faut pas voir ça non plus comme... Enfin c’est ce qu’on leur dit, faut pas voir ça comme quelque chose de très rigide.

I come in and speak English, if I can’t find a word, never mind, I say it in French, it’s all rather relaxed, you haven’t to think that... Anyway, that’s what we tell them, you haven’t to think of it as something very rigid.

Indeed, participants claim to be linguistically flexible when it comes to students asking questions in French, writing exams and students talking amongst themselves. This is why I argue that it is their “ideal” vision of EMI which is monolingual, because in practice “everything” cannot be “exclusively” in English. However, as we shall see in

chapter 7, these strong beliefs about the EMI classroom certainly inform classroom practices.

6.5 The difference between “programmes in English” and “international programmes”

The following two sections (6.5 and 6.6) are not part of the thematic findings as such but rather stand-alone categories which emerged from individual interview transcripts. Although these topics did not feature across all interviews, I nevertheless choose to discuss these categories as they provide insight into the local understanding and interpretation of EMI. Furthermore, they shed light on the local and institutional discursive construction of EMI.

Before I conducted the interviews with the teachers and university administrators, I noticed that on the UJF’s website EMI programmes were inconsistently labelled “international programmes” and “programmes taught in English”. During the interviews, I therefore paid attention to the nomination strategies used by the participants (i.e. How are “EMI courses/programmes” named and referred to linguistically?). I wanted to understand more clearly to what extent EMI courses are considered to be “international”. There seemed to be some confusion as to what differentiates an “international programme” from a “programme taught in English”: “alors après la question c’est, est-ce qu’on est un réel parcours international ou est-ce qu’on est un parcours enseigné en anglais?” (*“the real question is, are we a real international programme or a programme taught in English?”*) (Matthieu). In fact Rachel remarks that the designation “international programme” “veut tout dire et rien dire” (*“means everything and nothing”*). Hence I decided to ask Nathalie (the university administrator) directly about the university’s policy. She immediately distances herself from the “official” UJF position which consists, according to her, in labelling all degrees taught in English as “international”. For her, the fact of giving a lecture in English is not in itself “international”. In short, EMI is not inherently international. She would rather use the international label for programmes where students actually get an international experience (by spending time abroad either through studying or through an internship). Matthieu seems to share her views since he warns against fake international programmes: “Faut pas que l’affichage d’un parcours international ça soit une escroquerie” (*“The international programme label shouldn’t be a fraud”*). Note again the idea that there are real and fake international

programmes. For him, an international programme has to offer “more” than just courses taught in English. The President of the university provides yet another definition:

Extract 6.23 (Pierre)

Euh... En fait souvent ça veut dire que le...le...parcours en anglais n'est pas totalement en anglais en fait donc il y a une partie qui est en français alors que le master international il est vraiment exclusivement conçu en anglais.

Well... In fact often it means that the...the...programme in English is not completely in English, so there's a part that's in French. The International Master's programme on the other hand is exclusively set up in English.

Note how his reply is mitigated by hesitations and the adverb “souvent”. For him, degrees at the undergraduate level are not “international” in that they are partly taught in French and are attended mostly by French-speaking students. Conversely, Masters which are entirely in English and designed to attract non-Francophone international students are considered “international”. This reinforces the idea that French as a medium of instruction is not appropriate for an international context. For the university President it is EMI and the presence of international students which seem to determine whether or not a programme is “international”. Pia has a similar understanding to the President's in that she believes programmes 100% in English can be labelled “international”. She perceives the international label as particularly desirable: “j’ai tout de suite pris l’initiative de l’afficher comme ‘Master international’ sur le site officiel” (“*I immediately decided to label the Master's programme ‘international’ on the official website*”). Note the sense of personal initiative, how she positions herself as a decision-maker.

While each participant has a specific understanding of what is international or not, international programmes tend to be highly regarded. Teachers have the freedom to name programmes more or less as they like due to a lack of clear university policy guidelines. These decisions have important implications in terms of the discursive representation of EMI. For instance, international bachelor programmes also feature under “dispositifs d'excellence” (“*pathway of excellence*”) on the university's website. The fact that programmes in English are associated with “excellence” reflects strongly held beliefs about EMI. The desire to distinguish (by name) the different programmes effectively creates a taxonomy of EMI. I will argue in chapter 8 that the

actual names of the programmes establish a form of covert hierarchisation where degrees in French are placed at the bottom, followed by degrees in English and finally at the top are the international programmes which are considered to be the most competitive and offer the most opportunities. As we shall see in the following section, this hierarchy is encouraged by some and contested by others. I now move on to discuss two opposing views of EMI, notably whether EMI courses should be accessible to all students or whether they should be selective.

6.6 EMI and university selection

During the interviews, the question of entry requirements leads some teachers into the more controversial topic of university “selection”. In France, universities are prohibited from selecting students. The no-selection policy is rooted in the belief that everyone (who has passed the Baccalauréat) should have access to higher education. Even though some indirect forms of selection do take place,⁵⁰ selection remains a taboo subject in France. On the one hand, there are the prestigious “Grandes Ecoles” which are traditionally designed to train the elite. These higher education institutions are highly selective, well-funded and represent only 5% of the student population (Marshall 2007). On the other hand, there are the public universities which are non-selective and therefore open to all. The gap between the Grandes Ecoles and the universities is alluded to (directly and indirectly) by five different teachers. There is a clear divide between those who believe EMI should ideally be as inclusive as possible and those who see EMI as an opportunity to create competitive selective programmes.⁵¹

On one end of the spectrum there is Béatrice who openly admits that she uses EMI as a selection tool:

Extract 6.26 (Béatrice)

In the French universities you don't have selection of students, so to my opinion, to use English is in fact a way to select good students and give them additional tools, by encouraging their

⁵⁰ Certain programmes manage to get around the no-selection policy by selecting students amongst those who have already been offered a university place. While any student in possession of the Baccalauréat is by law guaranteed a university place, they are not necessarily accepted in the programme of their choosing.

⁵¹ Not all participants position themselves one way or the other. In fact five teachers simply reply to my question about the entry requirements in factual terms without further commenting on what they think about university selection. However, since four interviewees hold strong views on the subject I decided to include them in this chapter. This section therefore focuses on four participants.

mobility, by encouraging a lot of things. So it's a hidden selection if you want [laughs].

Béatrice sees EMI as a way of getting around the law. Note the reference to “hidden” selection which suggests that this practice is contentious. She insists throughout the interview on how EMI makes the selection of “good students” possible: “these English programmes are a way to do selection, to select good students”. During the interview, Béatrice stresses the advantages of working with the small groups of students, as opposed to overcrowded groups in the regular French-medium pathway. The limited number of students who enrol in the EMI courses means she is able to get to know each student individually, follow them and help them. The numbers are indeed striking: “What job can you do with 32 and what job can you do with 600? Ok? Now you understand”. Statistically, her EMI group represents around 5% of the total number of students in Biology (at undergraduate level). Similarly, Rachel refers to the different treatment EMI students get compared to the others: “Y’a un esprit plus école hein quand même. Ils sont dans un petit groupe, ils se suivent tout le temps, ils sont un peu plus...comment dire...on s’occupe un peu plus d’eux quand même” (*“There’s more of sense of belonging to a Grande Ecole all the same. The group is small and they stay together all the time, they are more...how I can put it...we look after them a bit more”*). The fact that EMI programmes are compared to the prestigious Grandes Ecoles is revealing in that it goes against the traditional ethos of French universities.

Stéphanie argues that EMI programmes offer a way of competing against the engineering schools (i.e. Grandes Ecoles) which attract all the best French students. She describes at length how her international programme suffers from the relentless competition (“concurrence effrénée” is repeated three times) of the engineering schools which also offer programmes in English. She talks about the competition for students in belligerent terms (“les écoles d’ingénieurs ont une force de frappe [...] il faut se battre constamment”, *“the engineering schools are much better armed [...] we have to fight them all the way”*). The inability of French universities to retain the best French students is a pressing issue in her opinion. For her, selective EMI programmes are a way of overcoming this “catastrophic” and “tragic” problem. She holds extremely negative views on French universities: “Les universités c’est la dernière roue du carrosse si je puis dire après le BAC parce qu’il n’y a pas de sélection, et donc on s’inscrit là par défaut” (*“The university is the fifth wheel of the wagon, if I can use*

that expression because, there is no selection after the BAC and so they enrol there for want of something better”). Her rigorous selection process means that only the “good” students are accepted into her programme. Like Béatrice, Stéphanie views EMI as a strategy for attracting “good students” (repeated 13 times during the interview).

On the other end of the spectrum is Rachel who insists that EMI programmes should be open and available to all students: “moi je partais du principe que [...] des étudiants sont désireux de tenter leur chance, donnons-leur la chance” (*“For my part, me, I started from the principle that [...] if students want to give it a go let’s give them a chance”*). She resists the idea that students who are enrolled in international degrees are “better” than those who follow the French pathway:

Extract 6.27 (Rachel)

Alors moi j'aime pas trop le terme 'excellence' ça m'exaspère je... Enfin on peut tous être excellents dans quelque chose. Le côté excellent ça veut dire que les autres ne sont pas excellents alors qu'il y en a d'autres qui sont excellents pas dans ce parcours-là, donc ça m'ennuie un peu ce côté... Non puis ça valorise certains et ça dévalorise d'autres personnes et bon quand même des effectifs...sur les 400 il y en a des excellents aussi !

I for one don't like the term 'excellence', it gets on my nerves I... In fact, we can all be excellent at something. To say some are excellent means that the others are not excellent when they might be excellent but not in this programme, it bothers me this 'excellence' business... No, and it suggests that some are better than others and when you look at the number of students [in the French pathway]... Among the 400 there are some excellent ones too!

It is interesting how she openly challenges the notion of “excellence”. Contrary to Béatrice or Stéphanie who actively seek the best students, she has a very different approach to EMI. She refuses to interpret EMI as a symbolic marker of quality and excellence. Despite being a fervent supporter of international programmes and advocating for them to be 100% in English, this extract shows a more complex picture of her feelings towards EMI.

Nathalie, the VP of International Relations, had also initially imagined an inclusive approach to EMI which would be accessible to all students who are motivated to study in English. However, she finds herself torn between the idea of creating English-taught programmes open to all and using EMI as a way of creating competitive programmes.

Nathalie, who has helped to set up EMI programmes since 2007, has a thorough understanding of EMI in terms of all the shapes it can take across different scientific disciplines and levels. During her interview, she discusses the profoundly irreconcilable policy discourses. She describes the dilemma of creating exclusive or inclusive EMI programmes, calling it a “dichotomie atroce” (*“atrocious dichotomy”*). On the one hand, universities are encouraged to excel through cutting-edge research and improve in the world rankings, on the other hand they are expected to take in everyone. She comments on these contradictory messages from the State using powerfully expressive language: “il y a cette dichotomie qui est très forte et qui dans la tête est quand même...rend schizophrène” (*“there is this dichotomy which is very strong and in the head...makes you schizophrenic”*). Her feeling of confusion culminates in a list of over 10 questions which address the social role of French universities. This shows the extent to which EMI is far from being politically neutral. Indeed, the medium of instruction raises significant issues which go beyond language. Here Nathalie questions the role of French universities. As a teacher and administrator, Nathalie is faced with the impossible task of helping the best as well as the weakest students. She struggles to envision a model of EMI which is both inclusive and selective. In her experience, EMI cannot achieve both. This shows how there can be a tension between policy interpretation and appropriation.

6.7 Summary

Chapter 6 focused on the interviews with the local actors from the UJF. For EMI teachers, English is *the* international language of science and there is therefore no other choice but to learn it. Although knowledge of English is seen as an integral part of their work as academics, they believe it is not their job to teach it. I found that teachers are primarily concerned about content knowledge and scientific expertise rather than English proficiency. Overall, teachers do not see EMI as a problem, since language, for them, is secondary. They openly concede that they have linguistic difficulties yet minimise them by arguing that the focus is on science not language. Furthermore, teachers specify that they speak “scientific English” rather than English. In their view, it is sufficient to master “scientific English” in order to be able to teach science. I found that they talk about the language of science without making any distinction between the language used for scientific research and the language used for teaching. Finally, I noted that participants have a monolingual and monolithic

interpretation of EMI which leaves little space for other languages. Indeed, most envision EMI courses and EMI programmes as being exclusively in English (i.e. English-only).

Chapter 7

Inside the EMI classroom

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how EMI is appropriated and enacted by teachers in the classroom. In short, chapter 7 sets out to present how EMI is put into action. After laying out the language patterns which I observed during the classroom observations, I move on to analyse the EMI classroom as a performance which involves actors, stage directors and spectators. I will discuss how languages are staged in the classroom and how teachers engage in safe talk practices.

As discussed in section 4.2.2.3, the observation schedule was partly informed by the findings from the interviews with the teachers. During the interviews, the majority of participants expressed a monolingual/monolithic view of EMI by stating that, ideally, “everything” should be “exclusively” in English. While they accepted that students might use French with each other and to ask questions, they assured me that everything else was in English. I was therefore attentive to what languages were being used, how and by whom. Secondly, teachers largely agreed that, on the whole, giving a lecture in English was not a problem for them. Hence, I paid attention to potential linguistic issues or instances of problematic communication (since some mentioned that interaction could be slightly more challenging). Finally, teachers presented themselves above all as “science teachers”, insisting that they were not language experts. They argued that they spoke “scientific English” and that it was not their job to teach English. I therefore remained alert to any comments about language.

The following table lists the type of classes which I observed (seminar or lecture), the level of study and subject, the student composition (international or local students) along with the total number of students present in the classroom. In total, I attended eight classes given by six different professors (five of whom I had interviewed: see section 4.2.2.3 for more information).

Name and first language	Type of class ⁵²	Level of study and subject	Student composition	# of students
Carl (English)	CM	L1 (Chemistry)	Only French	45
	TD	L1 (Chemistry)	Only French	26
Matthieu (French)	CM	L2 (Chemistry)	Only international (all from Boston University)	22
Julien (French)	CTD	L1 (Biology)	Only French	29
	CM	M2 (Chemistry)	Mostly international	7
Pia (German)	CM	M2 (Statistics)	Half international; half French	13
Vittorio (Italian)	CM	M2 (Engineering)	Mostly international	11
Stéphanie (French)	CM	M2 (Engineering)	Mostly international	18

Table 12. Classroom observation details

7.2 Language patterns in the EMI classroom

Out of the 14 hours of recordings, the teachers spoke approximately 12 hours (the remaining 2 hours include students working on exercises during class time, class breaks and students asking questions). During the entire 12 hours of “lecturing”, the students are of course not all sitting in silence listening to the teacher. They are also talking to each other and engaging in a number of other activities (such as note-taking, playing on their phones, doing homework for other classes etc.). This simultaneous speech was impossible to quantify but was documented in my field notes.

7.2.1 When English is used

7.2.1.1 When teachers use English

Out of the 12 hours, teachers use English for approximately 11 hours and 57 minutes. Most of this time is dedicated to “lecturing” (where academics deliver their “expertise” to listeners). In other words, English is used primarily to transmit scientific knowledge to students. For example, this is a representative extract of Pia teaching a statistics class:

Extract 7.1 (Pia)

I hope you still remember the gamma function, which was also introduced 5 weeks ago. So you remember maybe, this was a generalised definition of factorials, and the definition of gamma from one and a half is just square root of pi. So this means that you find the square root of pi in this expression, then you have [starts writing

⁵² CM=lecture; TD=seminar; CTD= half lecture, half seminar.

on the board]two, two minus one half plus one [equation continues].

This episode lasts for 11 minutes until she realises that she has accidentally erased a formula on the board which she needs. She temporarily interrupts the “lecture” to comment “it has disappeared from the board” and then pursues in the same way for 9 consecutive minutes (until she stops to ask the students a question). Interaction is essentially limited to Pia asking a few questions (to which the students hardly ever reply). All her verbal utterances (including her questions, replies and comments) are in English. Furthermore, all written texts are in English (handouts and writing on the board). Her lecture is, in effect, “entirely” delivered in English. Matthieu, who teaches chemistry, equally only uses English in his lecture:

Extract 7.2 (Matthieu)

There are four classes of organic reactions. On the first slide there are two complementary classes. So look at this...addition, reactions. What is an addition? It's a reaction which is implying two reactants, these two reactants are combining together into...to give another product with no atoms left. There's a full conversion of the two reactants into the new molecule. So for example, addition of HBr onto an alkene to give...alkyl bromide.

This extract stretches over a period of 8 minutes until he struggles to find a word but then carries on in English, in a monologue-like fashion (there are only 5 questions during his class). He does not use a single word of French during the 1 hour of observation. His course materials are also only in English (PowerPoint slides and the students' handbook).

Vittorio's class is yet another example of how “everything” is in English:

Extract 7.3 (Vittorio)

What is a joint? A joint is a fracture...ok? So it's again a discontinuity. However, in the case of a joint, we are talking of discontinuities in which essentially there has not been very much of relative movement. Joints are by far the most commonly observed discontinuities. They are found essentially in all rocks exposed to [###], it's very difficult to find one rock in which there are no joints. Joints can develop at practically all ages and this is very specific to that. We are not talking about young and old structures. When I say young and old of course I mean in the geological sense.

He lectures exclusively in English for periods of over 10 minutes at a time until momentarily pausing to tell an anecdote (in English) for instance. His course materials

include PowerPoint slides and a photocopy of a past exam which he shows the students at the beginning of the lesson (both are in English).

These three extracts illustrate the extent to which English is virtually the sole medium of instruction for lecturing. Moreover, English is used for “doing the lesson” more generally (that is, not just delivering the class but also asking/replying to questions, telling anecdotes or stories and making side-comments). I observed similar practices for five out of the six teachers (excluding Stéphanie, see section 7.2.2.1).

7.2.1.2 When students use English

French students almost systematically use English when addressing the teacher formally (i.e. during official class time):

Extract 7.4 (Julien's class)

S: Sorry can I just ask something on that...can...so can you have a cationic sub lattice where the interstitial sites are occupied by [#an atom]?

Below is another example where a student is seeking confirmation from the teacher to make sure she has properly understood a concept:

Extract 7.5 (Carl's class)

S: So, just say, that like, if they are equal that means the wave function is equal to zero which impossible=

T: Which is not allowed=

S: Yea, so hence the [###].

T: Yes.

Addressing the teacher in English during official class time appears to be the norm throughout all the observations. Even during the break or after the class (unofficial class time), French students tend to use English to speak to teachers (bearing in mind that half the teachers do not have French as their first language), although this is not systematic. International students on the other hand, always use English to address teachers in and out of the classroom:

Extract 7.6 (Stéphanie's class)

S: Professor I have a question. I was reading here... Well you mentioned that these Rossby waves do not have any influence on the equator, isn't it or not? Yes? But... Where is the influence because these kind of waves have some influence in the equator because of the El Niño phenomenon?

Furthermore, international students use English to talk amongst themselves when they do not share an L1.⁵³ For example during Carl's seminar, a Senegalese and Serbian student are sitting behind me and I hear them discussing electrons in English. These practices amongst international students occur across all my field notes.

7.2.2 When French is used

7.2.2.1 When teachers use French

As I mentioned above, French is only used by teachers for approximately 3 minutes during official class time. The teacher who uses French the most is Stéphanie. Although she uses French regularly, she only does so very briefly for side-comments (i.e. comments which are unrelated to the scientific content). For instance, she switches to French when a student accidentally walks into the wrong room ("Il s'est trompé", "*He's got the wrong room*", she remarks). She also uses French to make comments to herself ("qu'est-ce que j'ai marqué là ?", "*what have I written here?*" or "voilà alors maintenant je vais être en retard évidemment", "*I am going to be behind now*"). All her "off-topic" remarks tend to be in French even when she is addressed in English:

Extract 7.7 (Stéphanie)

S: Can you write bigger?

T: Oui le problème c'est que j'écris un peu petit [*Yes the problem is that I write a bit small*], but I can invite you to sit at the front.

Stéphanie also switches to French on one occasion when she forgets a word:

Extract 7.8 (Stéphanie)

T: If you remember there was this ozone hole which appeared both of course on the Antarctic and...the...mmm...and the...

S: You mean the Artic and the=

T:=Oui c'est ça [*Yes that's right*]. In the Arctic and Antarctic in the...of course...in the...dans l'hémisphère d'hiver...the winter hemisphere.

Julien also resorts to French on one occasion in his undergraduate class for an explanation. The students are busy doing exercises and he is walking around the rows

⁵³ I observe two Lebanese students talking to each other in Arabic in Stéphanie's class, two students (one Chinese, one Malaysian) talking in Mandarin in Julien's class and a Spanish and Guatemalan student talking in Spanish in Vittorio's class.

to see who needs help. A student who is sitting at the back of the class asks for help. Julien first provides an explanation in English before reformulating it in French when the student appears to still not understand. Note that this instance of French is not during the “lecture” as such but at the back of the classroom in a “private” conversation with a student.

Carl uses French for two specific purposes: to catch the students’ attention in an attempt to reduce noise levels and to highlight differences between French and English chemistry words. For example, during the seminar he writes on the board: “Lacune (FR) vs. Vacancy (ENG)”. In his lecture he reminds the students that in English you use the abbreviation “AO” for atomic orbitals whereas in French you use “OA” (orbitale atomique). These examples are extremely isolated and apart from Stéphanie, who often uses French during her lesson, all the other teachers use English almost exclusively.

7.2.2.2 When students use French

French students almost exclusively use French to talk to each other (whether this is to discuss issues related to the course or not). For example, during Carl’s seminar, I hear students discussing at length what they each had for breakfast. In Stéphanie’s class, the only two French students present are sitting together and one is asking the other what the teacher has written on the board (“Qu’est-ce qu’elle a écrit?”, “*What did she write?*”, looking over at her neighbour’s notes, “analogous?”).

Out of the eight classes which I observe, only two students ask questions in French during the actual lesson. One is completely unrelated to the lecture (“Je peux aller boire?”, “*Can I go and get something to drink?*”) and the other is in Carl’s seminar. Carl has asked a student to come up to the board to solve a problem (“Faut que je fasse lequel?”, “*Which one do you want me to do?*” the student asks). French students often wait until the break or after the class if they want to ask questions in French. Informal discussions with teachers in French therefore effectively take place outside the official EMI classroom. For a summary of the language patterns found in the EMI classrooms see Table 13 below:

WHEN ENGLISH IS USED		
By whom	For what purposes	To whom T=Teacher S=Student
Teachers	Lecturing/ doing the lesson	T→S
	Asking/Replying to questions Anecdotes, side-comments (i.e. “off-topic” related comments) Informal discussions (i.e. outside official classroom time)	T↔S
French students	Addressing the teacher, asking questions (in and outside of official class time)	S→T
	Informal discussions (i.e. outside official classroom time)	S↔T
International students	Addressing the teacher, asking questions (in and outside of official class time)	S→T
	Informal discussions (i.e. outside official classroom time)	S↔T
	Talking to each other	S↔S
WHEN FRENCH IS USED		
By whom	For what purposes	To whom
Teachers	Side-comments (i.e. “off-topic” related comments)	T→S
	Language management Lexical insertions Linguistic comparisons Informal discussions (i.e. outside official classroom time)	T↔S
French students	Addressing the teacher, asking questions (in and outside of official class time)	S→T
	Informal discussions (i.e. outside official classroom time)	S↔T
	Talking to each other	S↔S
WHEN OTHER LANGUAGES ARE USED		
By whom	For what purposes	To whom
International students	Talking to each other	S↔S

Table 13. Language use in the EMI classroom

7.3 The EMI stage

Since the university offers programmes taught in English, it is reasonable to argue that, for this reason, English is at the forefront of all EMI classes. In other words, it is not surprising to find English as the dominant language in the classroom since teachers are expected to teach in English after all. Indeed, teachers are expected to “perform” the course in English. Just as one would go to see a play and expect to watch a performance, students attend an EMI lecture expecting it to be in English. Given that the courses are advertised as being in English, English has to be the most visible element on stage.

I draw on Goffman’s (1959) dramaturgical framework to analyse the EMI classroom as a performance. The EMI performance is characterised by the activity of the teacher which “occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers” (Goffman 1959: 13). The actor (i.e. the teacher) is aware that he or she is being watched. The metaphors of “front stage” and “backstage” are particularly useful in understanding the language patterns described above. I conceptualise the EMI performance as being the “front stage” in that it is interpreted by the actors and the audience as such. Teachers intentionally perform a lecture and the students intentionally agree to sit there and watch the performance.

The “front stage” depends on the “setting”.⁵⁴ The EMI performance does not begin until the teachers are physically in the classroom. However, from time to time, actors may drop the conventions (e.g. speaking in English), step out of their role and behave differently (e.g. start speaking a different language). This is known as the “backstage” where “the suppressed facts” make an appearance (Goffman 1959: 69). I use the concept of “backstage” to refer to the moments when teachers temporarily suspend their performance, when they are no longer “performing EMI” in front of an audience. The backstage region is when teachers physically step away from the main stage (the front of class) and walk around the classroom, for example, while students do exercises. It also includes classroom breaks when the actors announce that the performance will be briefly suspended. Finally, I add the metaphor of “asides” to include instances when teachers interrupt their lecture to make side-comments (they

⁵⁴ The setting includes “the furniture, décor, physical lay-out, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action” (Goffman 1959: 13).

may tell an anecdote for example or make an off-topic remark). While this is still part of the EMI performance (and the front stage), I interpret these utterances as “asides” in that the actors are slightly deviating from the content-teaching. Finally, I combine Goffman’s framework with Gumperz’s (1999) notion of contextualisation cues to understand how languages are used for different purposes.

7.3.1 Staging languages

The quasi-absence of French on the part of teachers is somewhat unexpected. Previous research on EMI frequently reveals gaps between “English-only” policies and actual language practices. Here however, teachers seem determined to use English and avoid French when possible, only switching to French if they have forgotten a word in English for example:

Extract 7.10 (Julien)

But you can separate...mmm... In French we say
'fonctionnelles avec séparation de portée'... [###]
preparation functional? Yes why not... Anyway so you will
see...

Here Julien appears to be unsure of the English equivalent, so he makes a tentative guess by translating the expression. It is unclear whether he simply cannot recall the English phrase or actually does not know it. In any event, this example illustrates his intent to use English. The insertion of a French lexical item simply serves to fill a missing vocabulary element. This passing incident only happens once throughout the entire lesson.

Carl, the American, uses French but for different purposes. On two occasions he switches to French to catch the students’ attention. During the lecture students are chatting loudly while he is writing on the board. He turns around and sighs: “Les filles s’il vous plaît” (“*Girls please...*”). The shift to French evokes a shift in the frame of interpretation. It metaphorically signals a brief interruption of the front stage performance. The change in language serves as a contextualisation cue which indicates that this comment is not part of the subject content but a request to be quiet. The students pick up on this and immediately stop speaking (only momentarily). However, the code contrast does more than just silence the students: it reinforces the idea that English is the appropriate language for the front stage. Carl is simultaneously taking

on two “invisible” roles on stage: that of the classroom manager and the language manager.

In Stéphanie’s classes English is predominantly reserved for lecturing, however, she switches to French at regular intervals during the lecture to make comments which are not directly related to the scientific content. While she is lecturing she frequently pauses and stops to reflect on what she has just said or written on the board:

Extracts (Stéphanie)

	Context	Utterance
Extract 7.11	Finishes writing an equation on the board, looking back at it she comments	Qu’est-ce que j’ai marqué là? <i>What have I written here?</i>
Extract 7.12	She stops as she is in the middle of writing a mathematical formula on the board and says	Voilà, F au carré... Non zut... <i>So, F squared... No, drat...</i>
Extract 7.13	She is explaining a graph, pauses and comments	Voilà, je me suis trompée. <i>There you go, I got it wrong.</i>

After each of these examples she instantly switches back to English. Her comments in French are always extremely brief and are often introduced by the discourse marker “voilà”. These comments can be interpreted as “asides”. Language choice is a way for Stéphanie to contextualise the beginning or the end of a side-comment. By momentarily stepping outside of her main role she is effectively withdrawing French from the main act.

Conversely, other teachers systematically use English for “asides”. In a comparable example, Julien pauses in his lecture to think about what he has just written on the board. Looking at a function he ponders: “why did I write Ni?”. Even for matters which are completely unrelated to the curriculum Julien adopts an English-only policy: when a French student starts coughing he asks her in English if she is alright or needs to get a glass of water. In his classroom, English is the only language of the front stage.

Sometimes, Stéphanie uses French not so much to pause for reflection but as a form of transition in the lesson. For example, as she is finishing writing an equation on the board, she comments: “So voilà, alors...” and continues in English. Here, the brief switch in language marks the end of her explanation and the students are indirectly made aware that they are now moving on to a new section. In a sense, this example is still part of “doing the lesson”, even though it does not relate to scientific content *per se*. Stéphanie is effectively using French “to support the ‘on-stage’, ‘scripted’ work of content teaching and learning” (Cincotta-Segi 2011: 198). She draws on French as a resource for accomplishing different communicative acts such as doing a “side sequence”, “moving in and out of different discourse frames” or “marking topic changes” (Martin-Jones in Milroy and Muysken 1995: 99). Her creative language choices ultimately foreground her monolingual approach to EMI.

This is why I argue that English is the predominant medium of instruction for the front stage performance. This is not to say that French (or other languages) are absent from the classroom. On the contrary, in the audience, French students all chat in French. By excluding French (and any other language other than English) as much as possible from the front stage, English is legitimised as the appropriate medium for teaching content. As a result, these staging practices infuse English with authority.

7.3.2 Language stage directors

While communication in French amongst students is tolerated, it is not seen as desirable. Some teachers encourage students to talk in English, overtly positioning themselves as the “framers of discourse” (Scollon 1996)⁵⁵ or stage directors. For example, while his students are doing exercises and discussing problems in French, Julien asks:

Extract 7.14 (Julien)

T: Aren't we supposed to speak English [###]?

S: No [joking].

T: Hopefully yes [students continue speaking French]. I do not have any success [in making students speak English].

Here the interaction takes place on the backstage as Julien has stopped lecturing and is waiting for the students to complete exercises. As the stage director, he is trying to

⁵⁵ Framers have “have overriding rights to define communicative events” (Scollon 1996: 6).

close down the space for French. This extract shows how students can resist language policy. A student directly contests the teacher's request to speak English by answering "no" (albeit in jest). The other students also refute his claim by ignoring him and continuing to discuss with their classmates in French. The teacher's last remark is particularly interesting. Although he does not seem to direct this comment at me, I believe my presence does have an effect. In any case, his perceived failure to get the students to speak in English reveals an aspiration towards monolingual EMI. After the class I ask him about this. His reply is particularly insightful:

Extract 7.15 (Julien)

MB: Et à un moment vous avez dit euh...il faudrait parler en anglais=

T: Oui.

MB: Enfin... Vous pouvez expliquer pourquoi vous aimeriez qu'ils parlent anglais=

T: =Alors ils sont dans une filière internationale, ils ont signé pour, enfin quand je dis qu'ils ont signé pour, effectivement ils ont passé un test, ils ont fait une lettre de motivation donc ils sont ici de leur plein gré [...]Le but c'est qu'ils parlent anglais entre eux. Le problème c'est que même [name of student] au final qui est bilingue,⁵⁶ parfaitement bilingue, préfère parler en français parce qu'il... Déjà la chimie est complexe pour eux, ensuite si on repasse sur la...si on le fait en anglais, c'est moins naturel et je trouve que le fait que deux francophones comme ça parlent en anglais ça fait un petit peu jeu de rôle. Je pense qu'ils le prennent comme ça et ils ont pas forcément envie de faire ce jeu de rôle de parler en anglais. Donc c'est vrai que naturellement ils vont repasser en français.

MB: At one point you said, er, that they have to speak in English=

T: Yes.

MB: Could you explain why you want them to speak in English=

T: =Well, they are in an international programme, that's what they've signed up for, I mean when I say they've signed up for it, they have in fact taken a test, written a cover letter, they are here of their own free will[...]The aim is for them to speak in English together. The problem is that even [name of student]

⁵⁶ He is referring here to a student who attended the international school and who has a "native speaker" parent. Note how he describes him as "parfaitement bilingue". During Julien's seminar, I specifically notice this student as he is the one who asks the most questions. I also observe that the girl sitting beside him asks him, on several occasions, to explain to her what is going on. He therefore translates the teacher's explanation back into French for her. I notice how he only uses French to chat with his classmates during group discussions. This instance illustrates how students resort to various learning strategies which are complex and linguistically diverse.

who is bilingual, perfectly bilingual, prefers speaking in French because he... Chemistry is already complicated for them, so if we then go back...if we do it in English, it's less natural and I think to have two French-speakers conversing in English is a bit like a role-playing game. I think that's the way they see it and they don't necessarily want to play this role-playing game. So it's true they go back into French.

Note how EMI is at first discussed as if it were a formal contract. He stresses how students have intentionally signed up for EMI and therefore have agreed to EMI conventions. His rigid and inflexible expectations concerning EMI are then revised when weighed against the classroom reality (i.e. his own observations). He realises that requiring students to talk to each other in English may be unreasonable. His reference to “jeu de rôle” (“*role play*”) to describe two French speakers talking in English is particularly telling.⁵⁷ The theatrical metaphor suggests that EMI is perceived as something fake.⁵⁸ While students generally appear to go along with the rules of EMI on the front stage, in the backstage region they step out of their roles and revert back to French. There seems to be an implicit agreement. It is understood that the lesson is to be delivered in English by the teacher, exchanges between the teacher and students should (ideally) be in English and students are permitted (although not encouraged) to use French amongst themselves. By and large this informal “contract” is adhered to by all parties. This shows how in “informal” backstage situations (e.g. student group discussions) policy prescriptions are unlikely to be successful especially if they are perceived as forced or unnatural.

Carl, who teaches a group of French students, makes several attempts to cajole the students into speaking in English. The students are busy completing exercises and they are all speaking loudly in French: “You’re speaking to each other in English right?”, the teacher comments. Later on he tries again:

Extract 7.16 (Carl)

T: Franchement! [pronounced in an English accent]
[*Honestly!*]

S: Chameau?⁵⁹ [students laugh]

T: What?! [smiling]. Franchement [*honestly*]... I hear all this talking in French... You need to be a little bit

⁵⁷ Note that Julien’s class is the only one in which a French teacher is teaching to a group of French students.

⁵⁸ Similarly, Stéphanie explains to me after the class that if she were to speak to her Francophone colleagues in English it would be considered “pretentious”, “snobby” and “ridiculous”.

⁵⁹ “Chameau” (i.e. “camel”) is a reference to the pronunciation of “Franchement”.

[###]. If you were talking in English I may be a little bit more tolerant...or not.

A student teases him about the way he pronounces “franchement”. Again while this remark is playful it also shows defiance. On the whole, language management can only work if the teacher is part of the “with”⁶⁰ (Goffman 1971). In other words, it is difficult to influence language choice without being part of the face to face interaction. While language choices are fairly constrained on the front stage, they are much more flexible on the backstage. Just as actors would have to stick more or less to a script during a play, behind the scenes they are free to speak however they wish: “here the performer can relax, he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character” (Goffman 1959: 69). Across all classes, in the backstage region students speak the majority language of the “with”.

Some French students wait until the break or the end of the class to ask questions in French. Speaking French outside the “official” EMI classroom time is acceptable since it is not part of the front stage performance. The EMI class only begins when the actors start performing. Teachers indicate through various means that the class has “officially” started. Carl, for instance, formally opens the lecture by announcing: “Remplacez la langue de Molière par la langue de Shakespeare” (*“Replace the language of Molière with the language of Shakespeare”*).⁶¹ He then pauses and comments: “I could say the Queen’s English but I don’t speak the Queen’s English”. These remarks are most certainly due to my presence. Nevertheless, this is how Carl contextualises the EMI lesson.

Stéphanie’s class is interesting in that she monitors her own talk. In the following extract a student has asked Stéphanie a question in English. At the end of her explanation (which is in English) she comments:

Extract 7.17 (Stéphanie)

S: Voilà c’est bon? C’était bien de poser la question... Since we do not speak French, it was good to ask the question.

⁶⁰ Face to face interaction in little groups: “A with is a party of more than one whose members are perceived to be ‘together’” (Goffman 1971: 19).

⁶¹ Note how French and English are placed on an equal footing through the use of two equivalent periphrases. The literary references stand out in stark contrast to the “Globish” evoked throughout the interviews.

The initial switch to French (which is once again introduced by the discourse marker “voilà”) signals the end of her explanation. She then continues in French to make an “aside” comment (“c’était bien de poser la question”, “*it’s good that you asked*”). The following remark is most likely provoked by my presence. Just as she realises that she is speaking in French she corrects herself and translates her remark back into English. This instance of self-policing shows the extent to which her monolithic beliefs about EMI inform her own practices. The use of French on the front stage is negatively perceived and immediately suppressed.

Hence teachers (and to a lesser degree students) co-determine what counts as the EMI performance which in turn informs language choice. The front stage is only the front stage insofar as it is contextualised as such by the actors. However, the co-construction of the EMI performance is asymmetrical in that the audience (i.e. the students) have extremely limited rights in comparison with the teacher (Scollon 1996). It is the teachers who officially open and close the EMI performance. In this respect, they are both EMI actors and stage directors. Hence teachers can be viewed as language policy “arbiters” who are individuals who “wield a disproportionate amount of power relative to other individuals in a particular level or layer” (Johnson and Johnson 2014: 1).

7.3.3 The spectator researcher

I have already mentioned that my presence undoubtedly affected the usual proceedings of the classroom. While I tried to remain, as much as possible, a member of the audience, I was on several occasions directly brought onto the front stage. My presence was commented on multiple times by several teachers. Below is an example from Stéphanie’s class when she addresses me directly:

Extract 7.18 (Stéphanie)

[The light of the projector is on the board and she wants to ask if it bothering the students]

T: Is it a problem if the blackboard remains...enlightened, enlightened? Je vais demander à Marianne, parce que Marianne elle parle SUpEr bien anglais. [*I am going to ask Marianne, because Marianne speaks English REAlly well*]

MB: Or lit up?

T: Pardon?

MB: Lit up. [Seeing no response] Lit...up?

T: Ah! Lit up! Tu devrais toujours être là [*You should always be here*]! Usually I have great help from [name of student]. Her vocabulary is better than mine.

In this extract she positions me as the “language expert”. In so doing, she appears to be distancing herself from the language expert. Furthermore, by pointing out in the last sentence that one of her students’ vocabulary is better than hers, she establishes herself as “not a language teacher”. However, she still seems self-conscious about her proficiency in English. At one point she is searching for a word but when she cannot remember it she comments: “It’s the end of the lecture [implying she is tired]. I’m looking at Marianne”. Note how she implies that she is tired in order to save face. The fact that she looks at me when she forgets a word in English indicates that she is uncomfortable that I (the observer) have witnessed a vocabulary problem.

At the beginning of the class Vittorio introduces me as a “special observer” and asks me to say a bit about myself. When I have finished he remarks: “I wish I could speak English like you [everyone laughs]”. Compared to Stéphanie, his comment is entirely humorous. In the middle of the lesson he pauses to say:

Extract 7.19 (Vittorio)

By the way, so that we can show that we are very good, from time to time please ask questions so that she will think ‘wow’ it’s really interactive [everyone laughs]. So ask a few questions, make up questions if you need.

In fact, rather than showing feelings of self-consciousness, the way in which he jokes and makes the students laugh shows how comfortable he is in English.

Other teachers appear to ignore me during the actual class time but informal discussions I hold with them before and after the class show how my presence does not go unnoticed. For instance, right before the lesson starts, Matthieu warns me that his group of students often looks as if they are about to fall asleep. During the observations I oscillated between a “non-participant observer” and a “participant-observer” role. In other words, I was positioned alternately as a mere spectator (i.e. member of the audience) or as an actor. I now move on to discuss the dynamics of the “performance” itself and the extent to which students are positioned as spectators or actors.

7.4 The “safe” performance

In this section I use the notion of “safe space” which I derive from Heller and Martin-Jones’ (2001: 13) definition of “safe talk”:

Classroom talk that allows participation without any risk of loss of face for the teachers and learners and maintains an appearance of ‘doing the lesson’, while in fact little learning is actually taking place.

Usually applied to postcolonial settings, I adapt this concept to suggest that teachers and students construct “safe spaces” to preserve their “face” in the EMI classroom. In the following discussion I will be drawing on informal conversations that I held with teachers and students (see section 4.2.2.4) as well as classroom observation data. I also bring in a few extracts from the interviews (chapter 6) in order to make sense of what is going on in the classroom.

7.4.1 The passive spectators

It is particularly noticeable during the observations how little student participation occurs. In 5 out of the 6 two-hour lectures, students ask fewer than 10 questions on average per lesson. Furthermore, it is often the same students asking the questions. Although the lessons are for the most part lectures (see Table 12 page 158), I would have still expected more exchanges considering some classes were relatively small. In general, classes consisted mainly of the teachers talking “at” the students. The students were passive recipients in this sense rather than active participants. During the interviews, several teachers had mentioned how their students felt embarrassed when speaking in English. Pia, for instance, told me that some students are so shy that they prefer to ask her questions during the break, one on one, rather than in front of the class: “je crois c’est même beaucoup plus un sentiment de honte devant leurs camarades” (“*I think it’s a feeling of shame in front of their classmates*”). She described them as: “plus timides” (“*shyer*”), “très gênés” (“*very embarrassed*”), “un peu mal à l’aise” (“*not really at ease*”). Similarly, Matthieu noticed that his students are “bloqués à l’oral” (“*have a mental block when speaking*”) because they are worried about looking “ridiculous” in front of others. This is something that I paid attention to during the classroom observation: who was speaking, how and how often.

Pia’s class is by far the least interactive and the quietest. Throughout the two-hour lecture only one student asks a question. The rest of the time the students largely sit in

silence taking notes. During the break, I start talking to a student sitting behind me. He is French. I ask him what it is like to follow a course in English. He first tells me that he did not even know that the course was going to be in English so he was extremely surprised when he attended the first lecture. Initially, he wondered what he was doing there: “Mais qu’est-ce que je fais là. J’ai raté ma vie” (“*What am I doing here? I messed up my life*”). He describes how he felt “perdu, complètement perdu” (“*lost, completely lost*”) and how it was “horrible” and “violent”. His first experience with EMI seemed rather daunting. However, this series of fairly alarming statements is then mitigated by his final claim that he is now happy because he has improved his English. This swift turnaround recalls some of the ambivalent attitudes which surfaced from the interviews with the teachers who portrayed EMI as a necessity rather than a choice.

Before Julien’s class, I ask some students how they find studying in English for the first time (this is a first year course). The first two students reply that for them it is not a problem. Then a girl adds: “au début c’était un choc” (“*at first it was a shock*”) but explains that now it is fine.⁶² Another girl agrees with her, mentioning that it was at first “bizarre”. Note how both responses are formulated as a concession. This echoes the metaphor of “taking the plunge” (from chapter 6) in that, at first, EMI can be relatively challenging (or unpleasant) but with time and practice it gets easier. It seems that, with time, the EMI classroom gradually becomes a “safer space”. When I ask them about their proficiency in English, they all start laughing nervously and concur that they understand better than they speak. Their proficiency is, according to them, receptive rather than productive.

After observing Julien’s class, I stay to chat to a few students. In the following extract we are discussing which students ask questions during the class:

⁶² Bearing in mind this is week 5, it seems that she has adapted very quickly.

Extract 7.20 (Julien CTD class)

S1: Genre elle [pointing at S2]
elle est bilingue moi je le suis pas [laughs].

S4: Bah celui qui avait un super accent il est anglais et l'autre [###] [...]

S3: Bah **moi après vu que je suis pas bilingue**, j'ose pas trop en fait parce que [others laugh]=

S2: Moi là j'ai posé les questions que j'avais envie de poser... Franchement il faut oser. Je trouve que c'est très français ça d'avoir honte de son accent ou avoir honte de son niveau d'anglais, c'est super français! Les autres nationalités qui sont pas anglais ils s'en foutent hein ! Je vous jure vous avez que des Français qui ont honte de leur accent ! [...] On a tous commencé avec un accent de merde hein.

S1: Ouais mais ceux qui sont pas bilingues...

MB: Du coup ils osent pas trop ?

S1: Ouais ils osent pas trop. De toute façon même en français je pose pas de questions.

S3: Ouais moi aussi [everyone laughs]. [my emphasis]

S1: Like **she's bilingual** for example [pointing at S2], **I'm not**. [laughs].

S4: Well the guy who had a super accent he's English and the other [###] [...]

S3: Well **I am not bilingual** so I don't really dare to because [others laugh]=

S2: Well today I asked the questions that I wanted to ask... Honestly you must just ask. It's so French to be embarrassed by your accent or your level in English, it's super French! Other nationalities who are not English don't care! I swear it's just the French who are embarrassed by their accent! [...] We all started out with a shit accent at first.

S1: Yes but **those who aren't bilingual**...

MB: They don't really dare?

S1: Yes they don't dare. In any case even in French I don't ask questions.

S3: Yeah me neither [everyone laughs].

Note how S2⁶³ is framed by the others as the “bilingual” whereas S1 and S3 identify themselves as “not bilingual”. For them, it seems like being “bilingual” determines whether you can ask questions or not. S2 tries to convince the others that they should not feel embarrassed but to no avail. S1 immediately returns to her initial claim that she is “not bilingual” and therefore does not feel comfortable asking questions. This episode is revealing as it exposes a number of ideologies. The students seem to measure themselves against the “native speaker” norm. Their binary conception of bilingualism as the sum of two monolinguals with native-like competence means that you are either bilingual or you are not. Note how they refer to a student who speaks

⁶³ S2 is the only one in the group who dares to ask questions during the lesson.

with a “super accent”.⁶⁴ This characterisation stands in contrast with the “accent de merde” (“*shit accent*”). The choice of vocabulary shows how much these French students undervalue their linguistic abilities. EMI is constraining for these students who would rather remain silent than embarrass themselves in front of the rest of their classmates. Of course, this does not mean that EMI necessarily results in lower participation, as there are a myriad of factors affecting participation (my presence to begin with). Nevertheless, by remaining silent or asking questions outside the “official EMI class time” the students who feel uncomfortable create a “safe space” in which they avoid losing face.

International students are equally “passive”. It is surprising that, even in Matthieu’s lecture (which is followed only by American students), students barely ask any questions even though proficiency in English is certainly not an issue here. A closer look at the data suggests that, at times, teachers deliberately limit space for interaction and discussion thereby creating a “safe space” for themselves as well.

7.4.2 The “safe” lecture space

In the interviews, several participants indicated how giving a lecture in English is “not a problem”. On the other hand, at times they said they felt constrained, especially when interaction or discussion arose. During my fieldwork, I observe that lecturing is indeed “not a problem” in that teachers are largely in control of who speaks and when. They dominate the floor as the main allocated speaker (almost performing a monologue), leaving little space for verbal exchanges. Unlike Chick (1996: 24) who suggests that teachers engage in “safe talk” to preserve their dignity and hide “the fact that little or no learning is taking place”, I argue that teachers are not hiding academic incompetence but keeping their classes under strict control according to how comfortable they are teaching in English.

Julien’s class is interesting as it is a “Cours-Travaux Dirigés” (the first half is a lecture, the second half a seminar). During the lecture part, he appears at ease and speaks fluidly, without stopping, for long stretches of time. Although he does occasionally pause to ask students questions, he often answers them himself, leaving little time for

⁶⁴ The student in question with a “super accent” is a “native speaker”. It is interesting that the teacher Julien also comments on the same student, calling him “perfectly bilingual” (see extract 7.15). This shows how he shares a similar definition of what it means to be bilingual.

students to reply. By closing down the space for participation, interaction is limited and controlled. During the lecture, he frequently refers to specific pages from the booklet which contains all the detailed lecture notes (the students all have a copy). This also possibly reduces interaction in the sense that, if students do not understand something, they have the booklet as a support and are therefore less inclined to ask questions.

During the second half of the lesson, which is supposed to be a seminar, he gives students time to work on exercises from the booklet. When they are finished, he proceeds to write down all the solutions on the board, while explaining each answer (“So I should find...”). This effectively silences the students. After the class, Julien describes his way of teaching to me as typically French:⁶⁵

Extract 7.21 (Julien)

J’enseigne de façon **très française** je pense, avec un cours magistral **très posé** etc., les TDs etc., où je donne la correction à la fin, enfin je veux dire c’est **très académique version française**. [my emphasis]

*I teach in a **very French** way I think, with a **very structured** lecture and seminar where I give the answers at the end. It’s **very formal, French style**.*

According to him, his highly structured way of teaching is simply the French way of doing things. Be that as it may, this “French way” appears to significantly stifle and limit opportunities for interaction. Even when interaction does occur, question and answer sequences are performed in a formalised manner and are restricted by turn length and number of turns. The lecturer thereby remains in a position of power and control.

The lecture “genre” tends to be characterised by a low number of turns resulting in asymmetrical speech. The students, who are part of an audience, “know that there are appropriate patterns of alternation that are expected in a particular genre or context” (Hughes and Reed 2006: 129). Hence, in the context of an EMI lecture, students are “carrying out appropriate turn-behaviour precisely by *not* seeking to initiate or respond” (Hughes and Reed 2006: 130). In this particular genre, the lecturer is the

⁶⁵ Similarly, during the interviews, Stéphanie specifies how her way of teaching is “très structurée, à la française, cartésienne” (“*very structured in the French manner, Cartesian*”).

stage director. For example, during Vittorio's lecture on rock mechanics, he pauses to check that the students know the list of properties of rock discontinuities:

Extract 7.22 (Vittorio)

T: So, help me. Number of sets... [waits]. Per/sistence/
[Prompting].

S1: /Persis/tence.

S2: Orientation.

T: Orientation.

S3: Spacing.

T: Spacing.

Here the turn length is confined to one word. Furthermore, the "initiation-response-evaluation"⁶⁶ sequence reflects a teacher-centred approach where Vittorio temporarily opens up the stage and invites students to become actors but closes it at the end (students return to being audience members).

The teachers that I observe speak about their subjects in a seemingly effortless manner.⁶⁷ However, when exchanges do take place, communication becomes, at times, slightly more problematic. At one point, in Stéphanie's class, a Pakistani student interrupts her to ask a question. The teacher does not understand him and she has to ask him to repeat several times.⁶⁸ This misunderstanding may threaten the student's safe space.

I notice how some students interrupt Stéphanie in order to ask questions, thereby prying open space for interaction. This disrupts her own "safe space" and causes her, almost systematically, to momentarily revert back to French. Virtually all her replies are introduced by a French discourse marker: "Alors... First I would say...", "Oui... But I would say that...", "Oui c'est ça... In the Artic...", "Enfin, non... You can't...". By switching to French she is negotiating her way back into her "safe space" (i.e. the lecture). Despite a few problematic exchanges, teachers, on the whole, seem to answer questions without much difficulty. From the point of view of the observer, all the

⁶⁶ Known as the "IRE" (Mehan 1979).

⁶⁷ Teachers speak without notes, provide long explanations while simultaneously writing on the board etc.

⁶⁸ I could not understand him either. Even after listening to the recording, I was unable to transcribe this exchange.

lectures appear to go smoothly (bearing in mind that I cannot observe what *cannot* be said, that is, I cannot observe what teachers are not able to say).

7.4.3 Safe scientific talk

During the interviews, teachers insisted how “scientific English is not literature” (cf. chapter 6) and how they use simple words to teach science. They stressed the fact that they spoke “scientific English” as opposed to “standard English”. Interestingly, Julien, whom I did not interview but talked to informally after the class, stresses similar points:

Extract 7.23 (Julien)

Je fais des phrases qui sont finalement **simples**, parce que je me rends compte que je suis assez limité en fait dans mon vocabulaire et ça c’est difficile pédagogiquement. [...] Alors bien sûr **c’est de l’anglais scientifique** hein c’est... Donc 80 pourcent du vocabulaire est toujours le même. [my emphasis]

*The sentences I use are **simple** actually, because I realise that I am rather limited in my vocabulary and it’s quite difficult for teaching [...] **It’s scientific English** of course, it’s... So 80 per cent of the vocabulary is always the same.*

Julien indicates here that he feels constrained by his lack of vocabulary so has to resort to a simplified form of English, the type which is found in scientific journals. I argue that, for some teachers, using “scientific English”⁶⁹ is way of engaging in “safe talk” practices.

It is worth noting that all the teachers are “enseignants-chercheurs”⁷⁰ (teacher-researcher), which means that they are all attached to a research laboratory. During the interviews they tell me that they only publish scientific articles in English. For some, these publications inform their teaching practices:

Extract 7.24 (Matthieu)

J’ai un vocabulaire qui reste assez limité, scientifique, et je tourne quand même toujours autour d’un même terme, des termes qu’on voit dans les publis scientifiques voilà.

My vocabulary is a bit limited, scientific, and I’m always using the same terms, the terms you find in scientific publications.

⁶⁹ I base my definition of “scientific English” on the participants’ construction of it, that is, the type of English which is found in scientific journals.

⁷⁰ This is a specific status in French universities.

By sticking to the language that appears in scientific journals they have a sense of control. Note how both Julien (see extract 7.23) and Matthieu (extract 7.24) comment on the fact that they always use the same recurrent vocabulary.

During the lessons, I notice how teachers put very little language on the board and often mix it with mathematical symbols (for example: “In the limit of $s \rightarrow 0$ ”). As Stéphanie is writing on the board, she voices the equations: “DHO divided by DY...”. It is interesting to see how the boundary between the English language and mathematical code becomes blurred. Pia’s statistics lesson is perhaps the best illustration of this. At times, her sentences consist of a string of mathematical formulae which is interspersed with a few connecting words (or what Nathalie terms in her interview “the little blabla”): “Sigma square factor of 1 over n...”. Teaching materials are almost devoid of “language”: the board is covered in mathematical code and handouts contain almost exclusively graphs (see appendix 13).⁷¹ Even when she asks students questions, her sentences are short and simple: “The mean value of SM squared will be what?”. This rather dry style that some teachers adopt is summarised by Julien:

Extract 7.25 (Julien)

[L]es mots de liaison, les verbes et comment...les...
conjonctions bref, sont en anglais... Le but, **ce qui nous
intéresse c’est vraiment le chiffre**. Je dirais après **on
n’est pas là pour faire de la littérature** donc je dirais
que c’est sec, c’est direct, c’est...voilà. [...] La langue
anglaise est sans doute plus directe, au moins en
sciences, que la langue française. On n’a pas besoin de
faire des figures de style ou quoi que ce soit pour dire
les choses. [my emphasis]

*Link words, verbs and what do you...the conjunctions and all that
are in English... The aim, what really interests us are numbers.
I would say we’re not there for literature, our style is dry,
it’s direct, that’s it. [...] The English language is doubtless
more direct, at least in science, than French. We don’t need
figures of speech or anything like that to say things.*

The variety of English which he describes is dry and purely scientific. Note how he juxtaposes “numbers” against “literature”, “directness” against “stylistic devices” and ultimately English against French. This reinforces the idea that he is speaking as the “science expert” and not the “language expert”. He is also legitimising “scientific

⁷¹ The statistics lesson is by far the most “quantitative” of all. Other classes are more “qualitative”. The VP of International Relations (Nathalie) discusses this in her interview, how biology for instance, requires more verbal explanations compared to other subjects such as chemistry or mathematics.

English” (the type which you find in scientific journals) as the appropriate medium of instruction. Teachers construct their own “safe space” by sticking as much as possible to a “script” they know well (i.e. their scientific repertoire). The more comfortable and confident they feel the more flexible these “safe spaces” become.

7.4.4 Moving in and out of the safe space

Occasionally, teachers step out of their “safe space” to tell an anecdote or make an off-topic comment (i.e. an “aside”). When Julien attempts this, his flow of speech is immediately disrupted. In the following example he is explaining what the Jacob’s Ladder scheme is in Density Functional Theory:

Extract 7.26 (Julien’s M2 class)

You know about the Jacob’s ladder in the Bible? Who would have guessed that I was about to speak about the Bible during a lecture?! In fact Jacobs is a...make a dream... makes a dream and he sees angels going up and down on the ladder from the earth...ok...so there is the ground part, the ground part...the...lowest part which is the...not that good, on earth and the more you go up the more you reach the heaven and the perfect part. So here you have different steps toward the exact exchange correlation functional.

Note the pauses, repairs and repetitions which reflect hesitation. These features are considerably accentuated compared to when he is engaging in usual “scientific discourse”.

The shift in register, from “scientific discourse” to more colloquial talk is also challenging for some students. During informal discussions with international students, I note how some have great difficulties talking to me in English. During the break of Julien’s class, I start talking to a Chinese student in English and half way through, I switch languages when I realise she may speak better French:

Extract 7.27 (Julien’s M2 class)

MB: So you speak French as well?

S: Yes.

MB: Why did you choose this programme in English?

S: [###] [#The programme] only in English. Everyone, everyone understands English.

MB: Everyone?

S: Yea. Yea.

MB: Do you speak better French or better English?

S: Mmmm... Better French... When I was...in China I spoke not usually [###].

MB: English is easy for you?

S: Yes. Yes [###]. Not very much chance, chance to to...speak. I like to [###]. Listening it's ok=

MB: Listening is ok?

S: Yes I think.

MB: Easier than speaking?

S: Yes yes yes.

[We pause as the teacher starts talking]

MB: If... Si le cours avait été en français ET en anglais tu aurais choisi en français ou en anglais=

S: Non...vraiment les deux...en anglais ça me gêne pas. Surtout cette année tous les cours, d'autres cours sont en anglais aussi, c'est pareil, c'est pareil. En M2... Du coup dans le laboratoire il y a pas mal de collègues venant d'ailleurs. On parle pas du tout français, on doit parler anglais.

MB: D'accord. D'accord.

S: Anglais moi je parle pas très bien mais je peux parler. Par exemple, comme au début quand je parlais français je parlais pas bien non plus. Il faut parler, c'est juste ça en fait.

MB: Il faut le pratiquer ouais.

S: C'est exactement ça. Dans la tête il y en a mais il faut parler, il faut pratiquer. Parce qu'en Chine vraiment on parle pas beaucoup à l'université, les universités en Chine n'ont pas beaucoup d'étudiants venant de l'étranger en fait.

MB: If the course had been offered in French and in English, would you have chosen French or English?

S: No...really both...in English it doesn't bother me. Especially this year all the courses, other courses are in English as well, it's the same, it's the same. In M2... So in the lab there are lots of students from other places. We don't speak French at all, we have to speak English.

MB: I see, I see.

S: English, me, I don't speak very well, but I can speak. For example, like at the beginning when I was speaking French, I didn't speak very well either. You have to speak, that's all.

MB: You have to practise.

S: That's exactly it. In my head there is some, but you have to speak, you have to practise. Because in China you don't really speak much at university, Chinese universities don't have many foreign students.

Note how the turn lengths are considerably longer in French, suggesting that she is more comfortable in this language (when it comes to everyday talk). Nevertheless, despite claiming that she does not speak English very well, she is adamant that “everyone understands English”. Here again, English language skills appear to be receptive rather than productive. The international students’ proficiency in casual English varies considerably. In some cases, I am hardly able to have a discussion while at other times students seem perfectly at ease.

Carl, the American teacher, conceded during the interview that he had an advantage over his French colleagues in that he could go off-topic. The two classes of his which I attend, reflect this ability. Throughout the lecture, his lesson is interspersed with songs, anecdotes, cultural, historical and linguistic references, for example:

Extract 7.28 (Carl)

The 3D orbitals [drawing on board]... There is the d, x, y orbital, the d x y orbital looks like a four leaf clover. Ah! There’s an old song [starts singing] I'm looking over a four-leaf clover that I overlooked before [end of song]. Ok. Anyway. It looks like a four leaf clover.

This spontaneous “aside” shows how he can easily navigate between scientific discourse and colloquial English. He illustrates points by narrating stories which enlivens the lesson. For example, he recounts how some scientists developed a theory:

Extract 7.29 (Carl)

So there’s more to this story. Apparently, Goudsmit and Ulhenbeck left their paper with their professor, they went and talked with Wolfgang Pauli, who was a BIG shot at the time and Wolfgang Pauli said “nonsense, GARBAGE! If this were true [...] it would have to be rotating faster than the speed of light which is IMPOSSIBLE”. So Goudsmit and Ulhenbeck came back to their professor and said “don’t submit the paper!” and he said “well... I submitted it”.

Note the colloquial expressions such as “big shot”. Compared to the other teachers who emphasise the use of “simple” scientific language, he uses more idiomatic expressions (which are sometimes unlikely to be understood by students) such as “don’t get too hung up on the maths” or “that’s the highbrow way of saying it”. By providing anecdotes, he grounds scientific discourse in a historical and cultural context. His comments about linguistic differences between French and English and the allusions he makes to other languages (Chinese and Norwegian) during his class not only show his linguistic abilities but also his language awareness:

Extract 7.30 (Carl)

I think in French they tend to say “spin up” and “spin beta” a little bit more often, but sometimes they say “spin up” [pronounced in a French accent] “spin down” [with French accent]. In English, I think we say spin up and spin down more. I guess actually in French you would say “l’électron a un spin up”.

Although he makes fun of the French accent here, he does so in a very light-hearted way. Mainly, he is making the students aware of the potential discrepancies between French and English in chemistry. Furthermore, this example shows how science teachers can also be language teachers without necessarily realising it.

Carl is extremely conscious about the politics of language.⁷² During the interview, he tells me that he feels “uncomfortable about teaching French students in English”. When I ask him why he replies:

Extract 7.31 (Carl)

That’s something that’s very Canadian [laughs]. I lived 10 years in Montreal. Up to the 1970s French Canadians were considered as second-class citizens, in the 1970s there was the quiet revolution when in Quebec the French Canadians took economic and political power and the Constitution was changed so that Quebec went from an officially bilingual province to an officially monolingual French province. Nevertheless in Montreal everybody speaks English and French if not some third language as well. So the question of language is no longer one of communication but one of politics.[...]And now my gut reaction is I don’t WANT to talk to Francophones in English! [laughs]

His experience in Montreal has undoubtedly increased his linguistic sensitivity even though he feels that in France: “people here speak English or French to communicate”.

During his seminar, I note the close and playful relationship he has with the students. The class begins with him doing “eeny meeny miny moe” to choose someone to write their homework answers on the board. Soon after, when there are no volunteers, he chants “two four six eight who do we appreciate?” to encourage students to participate. The relaxed atmosphere seems to open up a “safe(r) space” for students who can engage with the professor (albeit in ways which are not always related to the lesson):

⁷² During the interview, he refers to a political poem entitled “Speak White” (1974) by the writer Michèle Lalonde from Quebec, which is about resisting imperialism. The expression “speak white” was an insult used by English-speaking Canadians against those who spoke other languages than English,

Extract 7.32 (Carl)

[A French student puts his hand up]

S: I have a joke!

T: Ok go on.

S: What kind of fish is made of only two sodium atoms?
[waits]. 2Na [Tuna].

The “safe space” in the classroom is co-constructed and shared. Whereas in other classes teachers protect their own “safe space” by maintaining a position of authority, Carl and his students appear to have a more equal relationship where Carl is still the director but shares the stage with his co-actors. The students tease him about his accent:

Extract 7.33 (Carl)

T: Does anyone know how to say “it’s bent” in the case of a molecule? In French.

S: Coudé?

T: Yes.

Another student repeats “coudé” with an exaggerated English accent to imitate Carl’s accent in French. [Carl smiles and everyone laughs]

T: It sounds a little bit like an Australian “good day”.

By accepting the humorous jibe, Carl is acknowledging that his French is not as good as theirs, which may be a way of empowering the students. He is effectively trying to open up a common “safe space” where all can speak without fear of losing face.

Conversely, Julien legitimises the “native speaker” norm by asking an Irish student how to pronounce a word:

Extract 7.34 (Julien)

T: How do you say graphite [pronounced græfit], graphite [pronounced græfart]? [question directed at the Irish student]

S: Graphite [pronounced græfart].

T: Graphite. Thank you. I never know with this I-T-E ending of the word.

Here Julien intentionally moves away from his “safe space” by directly drawing attention to a linguistic issue related to pronunciation. However, he does not lose face because he positions the student as the language expert. The voice of authority and power are therefore shared by the teacher (the science expert) and native speaker student (the language expert). This may result in closing down the “safe space” for other students who may not feel comfortable in either domain. Although in the

interviews teachers argued that English was simply a tool for communication, this shows how certain varieties are favoured over others.

However, this is not the case for all teachers. Vittorio, for instance, displays great confidence and seems completely unconcerned about speaking “correctly”.⁷³ By dismissing standard language ideology and appropriating more flexible language norms for the science classroom, he opens up a broader, more relaxed “safe space” for all actors (including himself). He engages students through the use of many anecdotes, personal touches and real-life examples thereby moving back and forth between scientific and everyday discourse.⁷⁴ Vittorio’s ability and confidence to navigate in and out of scientific discourse reflect how EMI can be enacted in less rigid ways.

Hence the more confident and comfortable teachers feel, the more flexible and porous the “safe spaces” become. Conversely, narrow and tightly controlled spaces leave little room for students or teachers to engage spontaneously. Although this may not always be perceived as threatening, the space for multilingualism is closed down by almost all the teachers. While teachers could use other languages as an additional resource, I find that the monolingual ethos prevails.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter I discussed the EMI classroom observations. I found that teachers overwhelmingly used English during the entire lesson (in formal and informal situations). English was not only used for delivering the lesson, it was also used for asking/replying to questions, for telling anecdotes and for making side-comments. French was very occasionally used by teachers during the lesson but mostly for off-topic related comments or for lexical insertions (when they were missing a vocabulary word in English). French was used at times in more informal discussions with students and outside the “official” EMI classroom (for example during classroom breaks).

French students almost systematically used English when addressing the teacher in formal situations. Even during the break or after the class, French students tended to

⁷³ He also emphasises this in the interview.

⁷⁴ The two are not mutually exclusive nor can they be clearly separated. Nevertheless, I distinguish the two by arguing that each requires some specific competences.

use English to speak to teachers (bearing in mind that 3 out of 6 teachers do not have French as their first language), although this was not systematic. Amongst themselves, French students exclusively used French to communicate. As for international students, they only spoke in English to teachers (in formal and informal situations) and used English with each other (when they did not share the same L1). Hence I found that English was the main language of the “official” EMI classroom.

Teachers unequivocally dominated the EMI floor in terms of duration of speech. They often performed monologues, leaving little space for verbal exchanges and interactions. I argued that teachers control their classes more or less tightly depending on how comfortable they are teaching in English. I suggested that the EMI classroom was like a performance where teachers simultaneously take on the role of the stage director and principal actor. Together with the students, they enact the EMI performance. When the performance has begun, English becomes the preferred medium of communication on the front stage (other languages are tolerated yet not encouraged). However, in the backstage region language practices are much more flexible. Overall, I observed that EMI works as long as the teachers are able to manage and limit classroom participation. However, as soon as teachers open up the front stage to students, more difficulties arise.

Chapter 8

Connecting discourses across policy layers

8.1 Introduction

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 dealt with three distinct contexts of policy activity. Each chapter corresponded to a particular data set, notably parliamentary debates and different versions of Article 2 (chapter 5), interviews (chapter 6) and classroom observation (chapter 7). Chapter 5 presented the salient themes which arose out of the parliamentary debates and related them to the drafting process of the bill. Chapter 6 discussed the main themes which emerged from the interviews with the teachers and university administrators. Chapter 7 showed how EMI was enacted within the classroom. Chapter 8 attempts to bring these three chapters together by making connections across policy layers. It sets out to trace the policy trajectory of Article 2 of the Fioraso Law, from its conception in Parliament to its enactment in the classroom. The goal is to illustrate how policy layers “permeate and interact with each other in a variety of ways and to varying degrees” (Ricento and Hornberger 1996: 402). Through an intertextual and interdiscursive analysis, I proceed to demonstrate how discourses from the national level have been taken up in the university context. As policy moves from one layer to the next, discourses are variously adopted, altered, ignored or contested. It is precisely this process of “recontextualisation” which I will now focus on. As discussed in section 4.3.7.1, I take “recontextualisation” to be a transformative process whereby elements of discourse acquire new meanings as they get transferred from one domain to another.

I will show how discourses on “Francophonie”, “attractiveness” and “democratisation” (the three salient themes from the parliamentary debates) get recontextualised within the Université Joseph Fourier (UJF). I contend that, at the local level, discourses on “Francophonie” are suppressed whereas discourses on “attractiveness” are widely adopted and adapted to the local context. Finally, discourses on “democratisation” are mostly silenced.

I conclude that, although processes of recontextualisation are “creative” (Ball 1993; Johnson 2013a) and transformative, they are nevertheless limited and constrained by

an overarching hegemonic EU discourse. More specifically, I argue that the knowledge-based economy (henceforth KBE) discourse has become a powerful economic imaginary (Jessop et al. 2008) which influences policy interpretation and appropriation to varying degrees. Whilst local actors reimagine the meaning of EMI in ways which encompass their own objectives, aspirations and experiences, their interpretations overwhelmingly align with supranational discourses on the knowledge economy.

In order to illuminate the discursive connections (or lack thereof) across policy layers I draw on the main data sets from chapters 5, 6 and 7 as well as additional texts to support my analysis. These texts include key EU policy documents (Bologna Declaration and its subsequent versions, Lisbon Agenda and Horizon 2020) and UJF documents collected during my fieldwork (internationalisation policy documents and brochures of degrees in English⁷⁵).

8.2 The demise of “Francophonie” and the rise of “rayonnement”

8.2.1 The Francophonie debate eclipsed

During the parliamentary debates (chapter 5) much time is spent discussing the effects of EMI on “Francophonie” and whether or not EMI can contribute to the promotion of French language and culture abroad. At the UJF level, none of the participants express explicit concern for “Francophonie” as such. Whereas in Parliament the word “Francophonie” occurs over 100 times, in the interviews it is not mentioned once. This suggests that promoting “Francophonie” across the world is a (supra)national political objective which is far removed from the daily practices and on-the-ground realities of science teachers. When teachers set up EMI programmes they are unlikely to be concerned about whether their programmes will have an impact (positive or negative) on “Francophonie”. Similarly, the symbolic impact of Article 2 (which is widely discussed by MPs) and its potential unforeseen consequences on French language learning abroad are issues which do not directly resonate with local actors. There appears to be a mismatch between the ideological debate around “Francophonie” at the parliamentary level and individual day-to-day lived experiences. Intangible issues such as domain loss, cultural/linguistic imperialism, the vitality of French and the

⁷⁵ See appendix 14.

perceived threat of English, which are brought up during the “Francophonie” debate in Parliament, are not echoed in the interviews, at least not explicitly. Hence the discourse about defending and promoting “Francophonie”, which was prominent at the national level, is entirely absent as it is probably deemed irrelevant. This is also the case with the enactment of EMI in classroom settings. During the classroom observations I did not witness instances of “Francophonie” (in the sense of promoting French language/culture and extending its influence). While the discourse on “Francophonie” is effectively difficult to locate in a science class taught in English, the fact that hardly any French is used on the “front stage” (chapter 7) shows that it has not been recontextualised. If anything, the discourse on “Francophonie” is implicitly rejected as the teachers promote the use of English. Although “Francophonie” strongly features in political discourse, it cannot be traced in the classroom realities of EMI teachers.

The disregard for “Francophonie” discourses should not however be mistaken for indifference towards the French language. On the contrary, teachers do express support for French medium instruction (albeit not for *their* programme) and encourage international students to learn French (albeit outside *their* classroom).⁷⁶ Furthermore, for local actors, adopting EMI does not entail the displacement of French in any way. EMI is not perceived or constructed as a threat to “Francophonie” or to the status of French. When I ask the President of the UJF what he thinks about the controversy surrounding Article 2 he retorts: “Ouais enfin c’est complètement délirant hein. Enfin, de mon point de vue ça n’a aucun sens [...] bien sûr que le français reste notre langue et il faut la cultiver” (“*It’s completely crazy. In my opinion it makes no sense. Obviously French remains our language and we need to nurture it*”). In other words, supporting EMI does not mean being against French or “Francophonie” (as suggested by some MPs). Nor is EMI seen as a way of strengthening “Francophonie” either. Altogether, the question of “Francophonie” is dropped in the university context as it has no place in the on-the-ground experiences of EMI actors.

In chapter 5 I showed how voices in favour of “Francophonie” had been incorporated into the drafting process of the law. The final bill gives a significant place to French

⁷⁶ e.g. Vittorio: “I am very happy there are classes in French and courses in French [...] I am very happy when I see that the students end up speaking French. So again, I’m not an Anglophile radical.”

language in comparison to earlier versions. The strong focus on French language in national policy documents is not reflected at the institutional level. There is no mention of French language in the university policy documents. In fact there is no university language policy as such, decisions relating to language are subsumed in the UJF's internationalisation policy documents or are made on an *ad hoc* individual basis. The absence of references to the French language is most likely due to the fact that French remains the *de facto* main medium of instruction at the university. Its *de jure* status is already enshrined in the law at the national level and it therefore does not need to be reinstated in UJF texts. Hence the discourse on "Francophonie" (along with the typical arguments associated with it) are by and large suppressed and ignored.

8.2.2 From cultural "rayonnement" to institutional "rayonnement"

Closely tied to the discourse on "Francophonie" is the notion of "rayonnement" which features 30 times in the parliamentary debates. The "rayonnement de la France" is a common expression which usually refers to France's cultural influence and prestige abroad. In the debates it is primarily applied to the French language ("le rayonnement du français") although "rayonnement de la France" and "rayonnement de la culture française" are also common.

While this term is only used once in the interviews, it features 18 times in the university policy documents, which may seem surprising considering "Francophonie" is not taken up once. It is even stated as one of the main objectives of the university (i.e. improving the university's "international and scientific rayonnement"). Here "rayonnement" is discursively repositioned and applied to the university context and hence acquires a different meaning. "Rayonnement" no longer refers to the global influence of France as such (including its culture and language) but alludes to the international reputation of the university. This central objective is echoed and restated in similar expressions such as "achieving international visibility". According to the UJF documents, one of the most obvious ways of attaining world-wide recognition is to focus on "international rankings". The strong emphasis on "rankings" (13 references) is conspicuous. They exert considerable influence on the university's policy decisions as they are believed to have a notable impact on the university's "attractiveness": "l'UJF a choisi de les [classements] observer avec attention" ("*The UJF has chosen to closely follow them [the rankings]*"). The way in which

“rayonnement” becomes conflated with “visibility”, “rankings”, “reputation” and “attractiveness” signals a departure from its use at the parliamentary level.

It is interesting how “rayonnement” is repositioned alongside discourses about “attractiveness” since the former presupposes projection and the latter attraction, two opposite, yet complementary forces. Indeed, as mentioned in section 2.3.2, the verb “rayonner” translates as “shine” or “illuminate” and implies that the university “radiates” through its international reputation. A strong reputation necessarily boosts the university’s “attractiveness” vis-à-vis international students which in turn strengthens its “rayonnement” (or “institutional visibility”). In this self-reinforcing dynamic, “attractiveness” becomes a pre-requisite for “rayonnement”. Since EMI is perceived by the UJF as key to developing the university’s attractiveness, it becomes central to the reconceptualisation of “rayonnement”. Hence EMI plays a pivotal role in the UJF’s strive for international “rayonnement”. It is somewhat paradoxical that EMI should be associated with “rayonnement” since the term is traditionally used in reference to the French language. The way the UJF has incorporated “rayonnement” into its policy documents illustrates how local agents have reimagined national discourses to fit their immediate context. The term has been appropriated by actors who have adapted it to suit their own needs and objectives (i.e. improving the university’s international profile). The discursive shift from “rayonnement du français” to “rayonnement de l’université” indicates that the term has become dissociated from discourses of “Francophonie” altogether.

The manner in which “rayonnement” has been repositioned alongside discourses of “attractiveness” is an example of discourse mixing where elements from different discourses get combined together (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). This discursive arrangement could be analysed as a creative interpretative process whereby local actors have carefully selected and assembled discourse elements from various scales and arranged them in a way which is relevant to them. However, I argue that this hybrid discourse reflects powerful discursive mechanisms. The combination of “rayonnement” and “attractiveness” is most likely an intertextual reference to a national policy document from the national Evaluation Agency for Research and

Higher Education (known as the HCERES⁷⁷ which is an authoritative body). Indeed, “rayonnement and attractiveness” are put together to form one of the six main criteria of the evaluation of universities. In order to meet the criteria of the evaluation agency the UJF has deliberately stressed these two components. The way in which the UJF has assembled discursive elements into its own institutional policy shows how recontextualisation is a “process of bricolage” which involves “borrowing and copying bits and pieces from elsewhere, drawing upon and amending” (Ball 1998: 216). At the same time, the insertion of buzzwords into official university policy documents gives them “new authority” (Blackledge 2006: 27). “Rayonnement” and “attractiveness” become legitimised as they are reproduced and solidified into local texts.

However, in practice, the discourse on “rayonnement” is ignored by teachers. Not only is it absent from the interviews, it is not visible in the EMI classrooms (mostly because it is virtually impossible to act out “rayonnement”). The concept of “rayonnement” (in the sense of influence or reputation) is indeed even more difficult to trace in classroom practices than “Francophonie”. Hence the discourse on “rayonnement” is manifested in material representations (i.e. physical texts) rather than in local enactment of EMI.

While the actual term “rayonnement” may be unique to the French context, its discursive transformation indicates that it has been reframed by wider circulating ideologies. In other words, the discourse on “rayonnement” retains France’s specificity while incorporating global trends. The university’s focus on “attractiveness”, “rankings” and “visibility” suggests that its objectives align with dominant national and supranational discourses on global competition. Indeed, the UJF’s policy documents are permeated with buzzwords and expressions relating to the Bologna Process.⁷⁸ The intertextual connections show how discourses from multiple levels (supranational, national and local) intersect. Ultimately however, locally situated goals are largely informed and shaped by the “master economic narrative” (Jessop 2004: 168).

⁷⁷ Haut Conseil de l’Évaluation de la Recherche et de l’Enseignement Supérieur (High Council for the Evaluation of Research and Higher Education).

⁷⁸ For example, the Budapest-Vienna Declaration 2010 discusses the need to make European higher education “more visible on the global map”. This objective is echoed in UJF documents which stress “achieving international visibility” and “affirming the university’s presence on the world stage”.

8.2.3 French language reimagined as a marketing tool

As discussed in the section above, at the UJF level, efforts are concentrated on improving the university's "rayonnement" and "attractiveness" rather than on promoting French language as such. Although there is no mention of French language in institutional policy documents, it prominently features in university degree brochures. Rather than promoting the study of French abroad, the brochures invite prospective students to learn French in France while they are studying something else (in English!). The opportunity for international students to develop French language skills, while studying in English, is constructed as a competitive advantage and is used as a selling point. French language learning for international students is not considered as a legal requirement, it is reimagined as a marketing strategy. In one of the university brochures promoting English-taught programmes it is stated that:

It would be a pity to spend two years in France and not learn a single French word, n'est-ce pas? You will have the opportunity to take French courses in the language department. (Master in Chemistry brochure)

Here French language learning and EMI are presented alongside as two attractive features of the programme. Other brochures go even further by promoting France's cultural heritage: "You will leave this university with a fluent command of French and a new insight in French history, literature and way of life" (Bachelor in Biology brochure). Here elements of the "Francophonie" debate (e.g. the preservation of French culture) are reinterpreted but for marketing purposes. A slogan-like comment at the end of the brochure reads: "Enjoy the great French way of life—You may become addicted!". These brochures exemplify what Heller (2003) calls the commodification of language and authenticity. Drawing on discourses of heritage tourism, the brochures market the "authentic French experience". The promotional language shows how the university has appropriated French language and French culture in a way which suits its own aspirations.

The idea of using French language learning as a marketing strategy to lure international students is not, however, taken up by teachers in the interviews. Rather, French language acquisition is viewed as a positive side-effect of EMI. Certain arguments echo the discursive strategies employed by pro-EMI MPs in the "Francophonie" debate. For instance, EMI supporters in Parliament contend that EMI will draw international students to French language and culture, thereby strengthening

“Francophonie”. This win-win argument (or “two for the price of one”) is reiterated by Vittorio who claims that students who “do not speak even one single word of French” still end up acquiring French:

At the end of the year they speak French! They like the country, the culture, the language et cetera et cetera. Especially when they stay for a PhD, by the time they are at second year of PhD they speak French!

Here he is deploying a similar rhetoric to pro-EMI parliamentarians. However, for him, French language learning is a by-product of EMI rather than a goal in itself or a marketing tool. Although EMI teachers may not see it as their role to ensure that non-Francophones acquire French there is a strong belief that EMI and French language can co-exist peacefully.

To briefly summarise section 8.2, the theme of “Francophonie” which was prevalent in Parliament has mostly disappeared within the institutional context. The term “rayonnement” has undergone a discursive shift and the local actors have redefined the role of French language in international programmes. Hence the discourse on “Francophonie” has undergone a dramatic process of selective recontextualisation which has considerably altered its representation.

8.3 The “attractiveness” ripple effect

In chapter 5 I showed how “attractiveness” constitutes a predominant theme in the parliamentary debates. Attracting international students is constructed as a pressing need by politicians who especially insist on targeting non-Francophone students from emerging markets. The discourse on “attractiveness” runs through all layers of policy activity and is pervasive in all texts (spoken and written). However, it is recontextualised in slightly different ways. For instance, while university policy documents directly take up the term “attractiveness”, teachers tend to adopt the verb “attract”. The only two interviewees who refer to the noun-form “attractiveness” are the university administrators. Section 8.3.1 discusses the explicit intertextual connections and the subsequent sections demonstrate the interdiscursive connections.

8.3.1 The buzzword: “attractivité”

During the parliamentary debates the term “attractivité” occurs over 65 times.⁷⁹ The word “attractivité” has become over the years a buzzword in French politics, not only in higher education but in a number of sectors. Generally speaking, the national political aim is to boost France’s “attractiveness”, which essentially means attracting foreign investors. In other words, the various forms of “attractiveness” are all oriented towards economic growth. Hence the term cannot be dissociated from its politico-economic agenda. With this in mind, during the parliamentary debates, the term is applied to the French higher education system and refers to the ability of French universities to attract international students (i.e. “international attractiveness”). While the term may seem somewhat abstract and subjective (after all what is “attractiveness”?) it can nevertheless be measured by the number of international students enrolling in French universities each year. “Attractiveness” has therefore both a nebulous yet quantifiable aspect to it. It is an intangible yet palpable notion which is open to interpretation. I now move on to discuss how this complex concept has been appropriated in the institutional context.

The word “attractivité” permeates UJF policy documents. It occurs 15 times in a single policy document.⁸⁰ The university’s strategic approach to “attractiveness” seems to be the following: at the undergraduate level, the focus is on improving the university’s “national attractiveness”, whereas at the Master’s and PhD level, more emphasis is placed on reinforcing “international attractiveness”. The distinction suggests the concept has been redefined so as to encompass institutional goals. In both cases, programmes in English are central to the university’s aims. At the Bachelor’s level, EMI courses are primarily designed to attract the “best” French students (as well as international students, but to a lesser degree). At postgraduate level, EMI programmes are considered to be a significant lever for international student recruitment. In other words, the term “attractiveness” has been slightly expanded and “materialised” into physical documents (Wodak and Fairclough 2010).

However, the intertextual chain stretches beyond the parliamentary debates and institutional context. The discourse on “attractiveness” within Parliament itself echoes

⁷⁹ Furthermore, the verb form “attract” occurs an additional 31 times.

⁸⁰ Five-year contract policy document.

numerous national legal texts. Indeed, the official policy documents surrounding the Fioraso Law are replete with references to “attractiveness”. For instance, in a report of the bill presented to the Prime Minister in December 2012, out of the three main headings relating to Article 2, one includes the word “attractiveness” (other subheadings also include the term, e.g. “Europe, l’international et le renforcement de notre politique d’attractivité”). In the preamble to the law, it is explicitly stated that the introduction of EMI is supposed to “améliorer l’attractivité de l’enseignement supérieur français vis-à-vis des étudiants étrangers” (*“improve the attractiveness of French higher education vis-à-vis international students”*). This illustrates how “attractiveness” was already on the political agenda prior to the parliamentary debates.

Furthermore, all national policy documents are themselves intertextually connected to past and current EU policy documents. The notion of being “attractive” (applied to higher education) dates back to 1998 with the Sorbonne Declaration. The following intertextual chain traces the early uses of the term in several EU policy documents:

The international recognition and **attractive** potential of our systems are directly related to their external and internal readabilities. (Sorbonne Declaration 1998, my emphasis)

We need to ensure that the European higher education system acquires a world-wide degree of **attraction** equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions. (Bologna Declaration 1999, my emphasis)

As the Bologna Declaration sets out, Ministers asserted that building the European Higher Education Area is a condition for enhancing the **attractiveness** and competitiveness of higher education institutions in Europe. (Prague Communiqué 2001, my emphasis)

Note the shift from the noun “attraction” (“*attrait*”) to “attractiveness” (“*attractivité*”). The former seems to refer to the *action* of attracting whereas the latter emphasises the *quality* of being attractive. The 2001 Prague Communiqué was one of the first appearances of “attractiveness” and from then on it featured almost systematically in every EU policy document concerning higher education, soon becoming a key buzzword. The term has developed into a mantra in the French higher education context. There was even a bill proposed in 2013 under its name: “Loi relative à l’attractivité universitaire de la France”. This reveals the extent to which it has become central to political discussions. The term “attractiveness”, which originated in EU policy discourse has been successively recontextualised into spoken and written texts across policy layers. Considering that the intertextual relationships stretch across

space and time (in this case over years and beyond national frontiers), the meaning has remained relatively stable. The meaning of the buzzword in 2001 is not far removed from the uses of the term in Parliament and in the UJF. It still refers to the ability of French universities to attract international students. Despite minor adjustments in the application of the term at the local level (e.g. the distinction between “national” vs “international” attractiveness), the conspicuous intertextual chain signals continuity rather than change.

As noted above, it is significant that the only two interviewees who use the word “attractiveness” are the university administrators. This is perhaps not surprising considering their relative positions of power within the university. Their remarks tend to align with wider circulating discourses. As voices of authority they espouse official policy language. This is not to say that university officials blindly regurgitate political discourse. Nathalie, for instance, is critical and cautious when it comes to attracting international students. She questions the ability of French universities to pursue their efforts at recruiting international students unrelentingly: “Je pense pas que les universités françaises soient globalement prêtes de façon massive à accueillir des étudiants non-francophones” (*“I don’t think French universities are completely ready to receive massive numbers of non-Francophone students”*). However, even though local policy actors may talk about “attractiveness” in different ways to politicians, in the end, their understanding of “attractiveness” is fairly similar. I argue that each time the term gets transferred into a new context, the discourse on “attractiveness” is solidified.

However, on the ground, in the EMI classroom, it is difficult to determine what “attractiveness” actually looks like since it is not an aesthetic experience. Whilst it could be argued that the number of international students physically present in the classroom is a visible sign of “attractiveness”, it is much more difficult to determine how the discourse on “attractiveness” is operationalised in the classroom, that is, how it is acted out. When a class of civil engineering is taught in English it is not obvious how “attractiveness” plays out. However, what I can say, is that classroom practices may be informed by what is perceived to be “attractive”. Hence if the exclusive use of English in lectures is considered by teachers to be attractive then it could be argued that this encourages them to use English solely.

8.3.2 The international student obsession: attracting the “best”

In the interviews with the teachers (chapter 5), the focus on attracting international students is omnipresent but is discussed in a slightly different way. Rather than appropriating buzzwords (like the university administrators) the teachers recontextualise typical arguments and discourses associated with “attractiveness”. Five out of the eight teachers identify “attracting international students” as the main motive for giving courses in English (this reason is evoked 32 times across 5 interviews). Even the teachers who teach in programmes which only include French students evoke “attracting international students” as the main reason for EMI. Rachel, for example, explains that she would have liked her programme to “accueillir des étudiants anglophones qui ne parlent pas français” (“*recruit Anglophone students who do not speak French*”).⁸¹ Chapter 6 discussed how Nathalie (the VP for International Relations) has to contain grass-root movements by reasserting her power over teachers who are pushing for more courses in English at the undergraduate level. Attracting international students has become, according to Nathalie, an increasingly popular bottom-up initiative. This illustrates how the discourse on “international attractiveness” is particularly resilient at all levels.

In chapter 5 I showed how politicians portray EMI as a way of accessing a much wider pool of international students (moving beyond the traditional Francophone Africa zone of influence). The belief that EMI gives access to more international students is adopted by teachers: “on peut attirer plus de gens si on fait en anglais” (“*We can attract more people if we do it in English*”) (Pia). However, they take this even further by suggesting that EMI can attract “better” students: “If you have some courses in English you get more attractive, you can get good students who would [otherwise] go to other countries” (Vittorio). The focus on attracting “good” students is something which is not at all discussed at parliamentary level (nor is present in legal documents). In the university context, however, it is pervasive (in spoken and written discourse). Whilst MPs primarily concentrated on attracting students from emerging markets, at the UJF level the focus seems to have shifted to recruiting the “best” minds.⁸² Local

⁸¹ Note the discursive characterisation “Anglophone” which is quite interesting. During the interviews, teachers use “Anglophone” and “international” interchangeably to refer to foreign students. This presupposes that all international students are automatically Anglophone.

⁸² The slight difference within the UJF is that teachers talk about the need to attract “good” students whereas policy documents tend to refer to the “best”.

actors have effectively filtered, expanded and added to the meaning of “attractiveness” in this sense. In UJF documents there are five references to attracting the “best” (or “most talented”, “top level”, “very high level” etc.) and it even constitutes a subheading: “attractivité renforcée des talents” (“attracting the most talented”). The university’s focus on recruiting talented students is discursively tied to its objective of “rayonnement”. The discourse of the “best” reverberates throughout the interviews, most notably with Stéphanie (and Vittorio, see quote above):

La motivation principale est d'**attirer**, enfin d'avoir un vivier de **bons étudiants** pour faire de la...une thèse dans nos labos, c'est vraiment le point, comment avoir de **bons étudiants** pour faire des thèses dans nos laboratoires. [Stéphanie, my emphasis]

*The main motivation is to **attract**, that is to have a pool of **good students** to do...a doctorate in our labs, that's the point, how to get **good students** to do doctorates in our labs.*

It is interesting how Stéphanie portrays herself as a policy maker, repeatedly indicating that she has personally taken the initiative to create this Master’s programme in English: “c’est complètement une initiative personnelle correspondant à un besoin d’attirer de **bons étudiants**” (my emphasis) (“*it was completely a personal initiative which stemmed from the need to attract **good students***”). Although some teachers see themselves as “policy creators”, their decisions tend to fall in line with dominant discourses. Indeed, this discourse is not specific to the teachers or the UJF. It indexes wider circulating discourses on global competition. Universities compete for the “best” students in the global race for talent. In fact, Wächter and Maiworm’s (2014) pan-European study identifies “attracting top talent (e.g. PhD students)” as a highly cited reason for introducing EMI. The way in which the same arguments are drawn on again and again is revealing. The similarities between discourses across policy layers and countries indicate the extent to which discourses on “international attractiveness” have been absorbed. Grin (2014: 129) deplores the general “obsession with foreign students”:

L’obsession de “l’étudiant étranger” (qui doit souvent, pour cadrer avec le cliché dominant, être indien ou chinois) conduit à des absurdités. [...] Cette ambition justifiée se combine, de façon parfois confuse, avec l’idée qu’on va attirer “les meilleurs étudiants”. Mais croire que cela oblige à enseigner en anglais est aussi naïf qu’illogique.

The obsession with “foreign students” (who must be Indian or Chinese to fit the typical cliché), leads to absurdities. [...] This justified ambition is often associated with the idea of attracting “the best students”. To think that this entails teaching in English is naïve and illogical.

Even though I have shown how the discourse on “international attractiveness” permeates policy layers, I am not suggesting that discourses are fixed and immutable. In fact I acknowledge the different ways in which this particular discourse has been appropriated. Furthermore, individual actors articulate dominant discourses to varying degrees and with different illocutionary force. For example, some teachers express more distance than others, employing mitigation strategies: “ça peut nous permettre de récupérer des bons étudiants” (*“This can allow us to get some good students”*) (Philippe). Here Philippe hedges his claim with the epistemic modal “can”, expressing caution rather than certainty. There are even times when some wider discourses are openly challenged. Nathalie and Rachel for instance contest the idea that EMI should only be reserved for the “best”. They believe in making EMI courses available to all students, thereby rejecting certain aspects of the dominant paradigm. Nevertheless, both embrace the overall discourse on “attractiveness” as the “foreign student obsession” is still very much anchored in their answers. Ultimately, recontextualisation practices are limited and constrained by the underlying KBE economic imaginary. This is why I contend that the KBE discourse shapes, but does not determine local appropriation.

8.3.3 French as a barrier and English as an opening

In chapter 5 I demonstrated how, in Parliament, EMI is indexed with modernity and “openness” (the noun “ouverture” occurs 23 times). Allowing courses to be taught in English is framed as giving access to the rest of the world and as a way of “opening” up French universities. This argument is taken up by teachers who, similarly to pro-EMI MPs, associate EMI with “openness”:

MB: Et quelles ont été les raisons pour lesquelles vous avez décidé de créer ce programme ?

M: Ouverture à l'international...à la base.

MB: *And what are the reasons that you decided to create this programme?*

M: *International openness...originally.*

The set expression “ouverture à l'international” not only echoes MPs’ arguments but also national legislation. The abstract nominalisation, which we would not expect to find in oral discourse, is a direct intertextual reference to a heading of Article 2: “l’ouverture à l'international”. The Minister herself appropriates this expression four times throughout the debates as an argumentation strategy. At the university level, the

phrase features explicitly in policy documents (“ouverture internationale”) as well as implicitly in international degree brochures: “the University of Grenoble is open to the outside world with more than 32 international Master’s programs” (Master in Environmental Fluid Mechanics brochure). This shows how a heading from a national policy text can be recontextualised in various ways, both intertextually and interdiscursively.⁸³ This shows how official written discourse gets passed on “from one semiotic genre to another, from written to verbal, to written in several recursive steps” (Wodak 2000: 78).

The expression “international openness” is not however specific to French language policy texts, it echoes EU policy language. In a 2009 EU ministerial conference in Leuven, “international openness” was identified as a top priority. A working group called “International Openness” was subsequently set up and in 2012 they made the following recommendation:

Recommendation 11: Boost teaching in widely spoken languages.

As a means to attract more incoming students, the study recommends that European countries with less-often-spoken national languages and low numbers of incoming degree students create a strong provision of programmes taught in internationally frequently spoken languages (such as English), particularly at the postgraduate level. (“International Openness” report 2012)

Note how the document focuses on EMI for the postgraduate level (similarly to the UJF). The discourse on “openness” is in fact central to EU policy discourse. The European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and the European Research Area (ERA) are constructed on the basis of a “unified area open to the world” and an “open space for knowledge and growth” (European Commission).⁸⁴ This shows how local texts and discourses do not arrive “out of the blue” (Ball 1993: 11), they intersect with (supra)national initiatives.

The idea of “openness” and “opening up” is discursively linked to the topos of “obstacle” in EU policy discourse: an open space has no barriers. This notion of “removing barriers” (or “overcoming obstacles”) is used in relation to student mobility

⁸³ Note that the expression “ouverture à l’international” is adopted by local actors but to varying degrees. Whilst it is taken up verbatim by two teachers (Matthieu and Rachel), Carl attributes it to other scales: “there was a decision somewhere high [#up] in the university to make an opening towards international students”. Stéphanie and Vittorio use the verb “open” rather than the nominal expression.

⁸⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/research/era/index_en.htm

and dates back to the Bologna Declaration of 1999. It also features in the most recent EU policy documents (e.g. Horizon 2020). In the parliamentary debates, the topos of “obstacle” has been applied to language. I showed in chapter 5 how French language is constructed as an “obstacle” for international students and EMI as a solution for removing language barriers. The topos of the linguistic “obstacle” can also be found in official national policy documents leading up to the parliamentary debates: “la barrière du français est un argument répulsif considérable [pour les étudiants étrangers]” (“*French is a most off-putting obstacle [for foreign students]*”) (Rapport au Président de la République, 17 December 2012, see extract in section 2.6). This argumentation strategy is adopted by local agents in the interviews. The President of the UJF, for example, refers to French language as a “handicap” in the competitive student market and English as a “linguistic advantage”. By appropriating wider circulating arguments, he is effectively reproducing and normalising dominant discourses in the institutional context. Three EMI teachers adopt similar discourses by referring to French language alternately as a “difficulty”, “barrier” or “trouble”.

Furthermore, these discourses are then operationalised and enacted in classroom practices. If French has been internalised as a linguistic obstacle then it is reasonable to assume that this may be an underlying motive for avoiding French in the classroom. In chapter 7 I showed how teachers often relegate French to the backstage and actively encourage “English-only”. Especially in the international multilingual classroom, French is reinterpreted as a barrier not to student mobility, but to learning and communication. The teachers have effectively accommodated the topos of “obstacle” into their recontextualised practices.

The way in which the topos of “obstacle” has travelled from one context to another reflects how arguments from various scales, including national and international texts, intersect at certain moments in time (Källkvist and Hult 2016). The intertextual and interdiscursive chain reveals how certain elements from the supranational level have been appropriated and modified in particular contexts. However, as an argumentation strategy, the topos of “obstacle” is particularly resilient across policy layers. It forms the main premise for the introduction of EMI. The topos is so widespread and taken for granted that EMI appears as an inevitable and self-evident choice. According to Wächter and Maiworm (2014), the most cited reason for EMI was “to remove

language obstacles for the enrolment of foreign students”. Even though the survey would have predetermined the language obstacle category as a possible answer, the fact that it was the most stated reason for EMI shows how the topos has become normalised across European contexts. While teachers acknowledge that there are multiple reasons for introducing EMI, removing linguistic barriers “to attract foreign students who would not enrol in a programme taught in the domestic language” (Wächter and Maiworm 2014) remains the primary reason. This shows that the topos of “obstacle” has become hegemonic.

8.3.4 EMI as a marketing tool: 100% in English

Traces of “international openness” and “linguistic obstacle” discourses can be found in the brochures of the university’s English-taught programmes. In those targeting non-Francophone speakers the “barrier” of French is evoked:

You do not speak French? No problem! A large part of our program is taught in English. For the courses in French, English documents will be available. No problem with the exams either: you can answer in English. You can also write research reports in English, etc. (Master in Chemistry)

Here the “barrier” of French is effectively “removed” by the provision of courses in English, documents in English and examinations in English. English is discursively constructed as a solution to the French language “problem”. Especially at the undergraduate level, brochures aim to reassure students as much as possible that not knowing French is not a problem. The Bachelor’s in Biology brochure assures students that “any course can be taught in English” for example. This reassuring tone concerning language is in fact encouraged by the European Union. The 2012 “International Openness” working group report provides examples of promotional materials for the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) which includes the following:

If you have a good command of English only, don’t worry! English is being offered as a language of instruction by a growing number of European universities across many countries. (“International Openness” 2012 report).

The language used in these promotional materials presents similarities with the language used in the UJF brochures. While legally programmes should only be “partly” taught in English (see Article 2), the UJF does not hesitate to advertise programmes taught entirely in English: “**all** courses are given in English” (Master’s in Environmental Fluid Mechanics, my emphasis), “as an international programme the

whole curriculum is taught in English” (Master’s in Geomechanics and Civil Engineering, my emphasis). This is even included in the university’s policy documents: “il s’agit de mettre en place les programmes correspondant aux attentes des étudiants internationaux, en particulier assurer **l’intégralité** des cours en anglais pour les étudiants non francophones” (“*It’s a matter of setting up programmes corresponding to the expectations of international students, in particular offering **all** courses in English for non-Francophone students*”, my emphasis). The perceived needs and requirements of international students appear to take precedence over legal requirements. The discourses on “attractiveness” undoubtedly inform participants’ understanding of what EMI is or should be like. Chapter 6 discussed the overwhelming belief that degrees should be taught *exclusively* in English. Teachers argue that, ideally, everything should be “100%” in English (including reading materials, exams etc.) The discourse on “attractiveness” has been slightly transformed here: it is not courses in English which are deemed attractive to international students but rather programmes taught *entirely* in English. This adaptation signals a departure from what is stated in the law. These monolingual and monolithic representations of EMI are partly shaped by local texts which try to attract international students. If brochures publicise courses, exams and materials *entirely* in English then teachers are expected to deliver what is offered. These expectations necessarily exert influence on teaching practices. Indeed, chapter 7 illustrated how teachers overwhelmingly use English for “doing the lesson”. Hence the monolingual ethos is recontextualised in the classroom with teachers almost exclusively using English.

To briefly summarise section 8.3, the discourse on “attractiveness” has largely been recontextualised in the university context. The desire to attract international students which was expressed at the national level by politicians is just as tenacious at the UJF level and is manifested in a variety of ways (through university brochures, policy documents, interviews and classroom practices). In this sense the discourse on “attractiveness” can be seen as having a strong “discursive ripple effect” (Hult 2010: 19). The metaphor describes the power of certain discourses to travel across space and time: “If one drops in a boulder [in a pond], it will result in a large ripple effect that covers a great deal of space and may last for quite a while longer” (Hult 2010: 19). This comparison is particularly apt for the discourse on “attractiveness”.

8.4 From “democratisation” to “excellence”

During the parliamentary debates one of the main arguments in favour of EMI is “democratisation” (see section 5.2.3). EMI proponents argue that introducing more courses in English is a democratic step forward for students who did not previously have access to English. Allowing EMI in French universities is also presented as a measure which will reduce the gap between universities and the prestigious Grandes Ecoles. The main idea is that EMI should no longer be reserved for the elite. Although the discourse on “democratisation” is framed within an economic narrative (Article 2 is linked to socio-economic mobility), the ample focus on issues of social justice, equal access and equal opportunity make “democratisation” a major theme in its own right in the parliamentary debates. This is presumably because “democratising access to higher education” is one of the top priorities of the Fioraso Law as a whole (which comprises 70 Articles,⁸⁵ including Article 2). Since this is an overall objective of the law, Article 2 has to be positioned within this discourse. The “democratisation” theme which arose from the parliamentary debates is therefore intertextually and interdiscursively linked to a wider national policy agenda. I now move on to discuss the extent to which the discourse on “democratisation” has been recontextualised in the university setting.

8.4.1 Traces of democratisation discourses

In chapter 6 I showed how there is a divide amongst teachers who believe that EMI should be as inclusive as possible and those who see EMI as an opportunity to create selective and competitive programmes. I begin by discussing the former (who constitute a clear minority: 2 out of 10 participants) and demonstrate how they draw on discourses of “democratisation” but in different ways to MPs. Rachel and Nathalie insist that, ideally, programmes should be offered both in French and in English so that French students have a “choice”. In this sense it is the maintenance of French as a medium of instruction which ensures equal opportunity not EMI. They evoke issues of access and inclusion: “qu’on laisse le **choix** quand même aux étudiants parce que ceux qui n’ont pas le niveau d’anglais vont être quand même pénalisés [...] alors qu’en français il s’en sortiraient très bien” (“*we should give students the **choice** because those who aren’t very good at English will be penalised [...] whereas in French they*

⁸⁵ When the law was voted in July 2013.

would do well”) (Rachel, my emphasis). Here Rachel expresses concern for students who might be disadvantaged by courses only available in English. She also believes that EMI programmes should not be reserved for the “best” students but rather be open to everyone. This argument for equal opportunity is echoed by Nathalie who had imagined an inclusive model of EMI for the undergraduate level: “l’idée c’était aussi de **donner des chances** [à des] étudiants bons, sans être excellents [...] pour moi c’était pas nécessairement un ‘dispositif d’excellence’” (“the idea was to also give good students a **chance**, not just the ‘excellent’ ones [...] for me it wasn’t necessarily an initiative for ‘excellence’”, my emphasis). Both reject rigorous selection processes, advocating “EMI for all” rather than “EMI for a few”. In this sense, they appropriate arguments about democratising EMI but adapt them to the UJF context. While both Nathalie and Rachel stress issues of social justice they do not construct EMI as a solution for tackling inequality (like Minister Fioraso). In other words, they envisage an inclusive approach to EMI but do not believe EMI to be a democratic initiative in itself. In fact it is quite the opposite, they acknowledge that EMI programmes tend to attract privileged students and are aware that such programmes are considered to be more prestigious.

However, there appears to be a gap between Nathalie and Rachel’s ideal conceptualisation of EMI (which incorporates issues of social justice) and the actual operationalisation of EMI. In practice, EMI programmes are not open to all students and do not have the same status as other degrees. As the VP for International Relations, Nathalie is conscious of the university’s aim to achieve international visibility and attempts to reconcile social responsibility with the pursuit of “excellence”. She appears to resolve this tension by ensuring the maintenance of French as a medium of instruction at the undergraduate level and adopting a more competitive stance at the Master’s level. As for Rachel, even though she supports courses in French, she is also determined to set up a Biology programme exclusively in English: “je trouve qu’il faudrait que dans ce programme **tout** soit enseigné en anglais” (“I think that **everything** in this programme should be taught in English”, my emphasis). Such remarks may seem paradoxical and somewhat contradictory to her democratic ideals. By striving for a programme “100%” in English she appears to be overlooking her previous remarks about an inclusive approach to EMI. This is why I contend that, overall, the discourse on “democratisation” is virtually silenced with only a few

aspects remaining. Since none of the participants present EMI as a democratic measure I can conclude that the discourse on “democratisation” at the national level has been backgrounded in the university context.

In terms of EMI enactment in the classroom setting, in chapter 7 I discussed how EMI teachers dominate the “front stage” by monopolising and managing classroom discussions. I showed how the EMI lecture is a fairly controlled performance which leaves little room for spontaneity and flexibility. This environment is not particularly conducive to “democratisation” practices. Just like the discourse on “Francophonie” and “attractiveness”, the discourse on “democratisation” is not observable *per se* but my observation data reveals that the EMI classroom is not necessarily a “safe” space which is open and accessible to all. Indeed, allocation of speech is controlled by the teacher and student participation remains low (students rarely take part in the front stage performance). Hence in my study instances of “democratisation” cannot be linked to the EMI classroom.

8.4.2 The silencing of “democratisation” and the focus on “excellence”

At the institutional level, EMI programmes are not viewed in terms of equal opportunity but rather as an initiative for “excellence”. The hierarchisation of degrees is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that, on the university’s website, the international programmes feature under “dispositifs d’excellence” (“excellence pathways”). The choice of the word “excellence” is highly significant and it appears 14 times in UJF policy documents. “Excellence” is yet another undefined educational buzzword which is constantly used in EU policy documents. It also intertextually indexes a major national initiative. In 2011 the French government launched a 7.7 billion euro initiative called “Initiative d’Excellence” (or IDEX) which aimed to make France more internationally competitive:

Les initiatives d’**excellence** doivent assurer le **rayonnement scientifique** de la France à l’étranger et **attirer** les meilleurs enseignants, les meilleurs chercheurs et les **meilleurs étudiants**. (Ministry of Higher Education and Research 2010, my emphasis)

*The **excellence** initiatives should ensure the **scientific “rayonnement”** of France abroad and **attract** the best teachers, the best researchers and the **best students**.*

Note how “excellence”, “rayonnement” and attracting the “best” all feature alongside each other, forming an interdiscursive web. The fact that degrees in English are regarded by the university as a symbol of “excellence” reflects the extent to which it is far from being a democratic measure. In fact, it reinforces the belief that international programmes are a symbolic marker of prestige. It is interesting to note how during the parliamentary debates Minister Fioraso announces: “Je refuse d’opposer excellence et démocratisation. Je pense même qu’une telle opposition a quelque chose d’infamant, comme si l’excellence était réservée aux ‘happy few’” (*“I refuse to oppose excellence and democratisation. I even believe such an opposition is insulting, as if excellence was reserved for the lucky few”*). She is wary of proposing a measure which may appear to be elitist and therefore carefully combines the two seemingly disconnected discourses of “democratisation” and “excellence”. She is certainly aware of the fact that the competing discourses do not go hand in hand but she nevertheless attempts to stitch them together.

I argue that the discourse on “excellence” (which is present mainly in university documents) is reworked and realised in new ways by local actors. Although it may not be immediately obvious (intertextually speaking), it is present in a number of arguments put forward by teachers. So I contend that teachers adopt numerous discursive elements relating to “excellence” without explicitly alluding to the term. For example, the idea of attracting “better” students is indirectly linked to the discourse on “excellence” in that attracting the best students is mentioned in the IDEX mission statement (see IDEX quote above). I now move on to discuss how the discourse on “excellence” appears in more subtle ways within the university setting.

8.4.3 From EMI to international programmes

A distinctive feature about EMI programmes at the UJF is that they are discursively constructed as being “international”. In policy documents they are constantly associated with international initiatives. For instance, degrees taught in English feature under the heading “politique internationale” (“international policy”). Perhaps the most conspicuous example of how EMI is portrayed as “international” is the actual naming of the degrees. A main difference between undergraduate brochures in English and in French is the label of the degree. For example, the programme “Bachelor of Science in Physics” is called “Licence *internationale* de physique” in French. While the

“international” designation is a way of differentiating it from the regular “Licence de physique” taught in French, it is clear that the international dimension sets it apart from mainstream programmes. Although there is no general consensus among teachers as to what makes a degree “international”, they seem to agree that the mere fact of teaching a course in English is not in itself international. International programmes have to offer something “more”. Hence the international stamp is perceived as more desirable.

The way in which international programmes taught in English have been attributed a higher status is evident in the university brochures. The undergraduate brochures not only promise students “une véritable expérience internationale” (*“a true international experience”*) they even include a heading entitled “un passeport pour l’international” (*“a passport to the international world”*). By referring to the programme as a “passport” it reinforces the idea that EMI gives access to the world. It also presents international programmes as a gatekeeping mechanism. The reinterpretation of EMI as a way of inventing new “international” programmes is perhaps one of the most significant additions local actors have made to the meaning of EMI. Indeed, at the national level there is no such question of international degrees, EMI is merely understood as meaning courses taught in English. However, at the institutional level, the international dimension is used as a key selling point. The brochures present the international programmes as giving students a head start in their future careers:

Les étudiants ayant suivi avec succès le parcours international sont prioritaires pour la participation à un programme international d’échanges universitaires, ce qui multiplie les possibilités d’accès aux Masters internationaux, enrichit les compétences des candidats aux Masters d’enseignement et ouvre l’éventail des recrutements et des emplois.

Students who have successfully completed the international pathway will have priority in the international exchange programme, which then increases their chances of being selected for the international Master’s programme, improves the competences of candidates applying for the teaching Master’s degree and opens up a range of recruitment and job opportunities.

By choosing to enrol in these programmes it is suggested that students will considerably increase their chances of success. The entire discourse constructs EMI as a competitive advantage and inadvertently infuses international programmes (and by extension EMI) with economic power. While the brochures themselves do not employ the word “excellence”, they do, however, suggest that international programmes are

more advantageous. The perceived benefits of these degrees are translated into the interviews. Stéphanie, for instance, views programmes in English as “une opportunité extraordinaire” (“*an extraordinary opportunity*”) and believes they are “extrêmement valorisant au niveau de leur CV” (“*they really improve the CV*”). At the local level, it is not so much EMI in itself which is considered to be a major asset, it is the fact that students are part of a selective programme.

Indeed, what further sets these international programmes apart is the fact that they are selective. In chapter 6 I showed how Béatrice uses EMI as a “hidden selection” tool to “select good students” and “push them forwards”. Similarly, Stéphanie believes that creating selective EMI programmes is one of the ways in which French universities can retain good students and thus compete with the Grandes Ecoles. She sees international programmes as a potential solution for countering the relentless competition from the engineering schools which poach all the “good” students from the UJF.⁸⁶ Hence the selective and exclusive approach to EMI programmes is a form of operationalisation of the discourse on “excellence”. In a context where the local aspirations are focused on improving the university’s international ranking, the discourse on “excellence” prevails.

8.4.4 The focus on English language “skills”

In Parliament, politicians frame Article 2 as a democratic step forward in the sense that students who did not previously have access to courses in English will now be able to improve their English language skills. I noted in chapter 5 how MPs combine discourses of “democratisation” with a rhetoric of employability, forming an interdiscursive mix. At the local level, however, this hybrid discourse is not taken up. Teachers talk about English “skills” being essential, especially in the domain of science, but do not portray them (or EMI) as a democratic “right”. Hence I argue that local actors only partly recontextualise MPs’ arguments. More specifically, I contend it is the KBE discourses which are brought to the fore.

In the interviews, the teachers discussed English language skills in relation to the sciences. Similarly to MPs, they believe that knowledge of English is crucial for career

⁸⁶ The engineering schools start recruiting students from universities from the M1 level (4th year). After completing a 3-year undergraduate degree at a French university, students can then apply to enter these competitive engineering schools.

opportunities and professional development, thus echoing wider discourses on employability. However, at the local level, the English language is not constructed as a “right” as such, but rather as a vital skill. The perceived importance of English language skills comes across much more strongly in the interviews compared to the parliamentary debates. Indeed, the predominance of English in the scientific domain is alluded to continuously, with teachers arguing that English is *the* language of science. In the context of international scientific research, the English language is not only constructed as inevitable, it is presented as even more relevant than French.

One of the main assumptions (and fallacies) at the parliamentary level is that EMI will improve French students’ English language skills. While the teachers discuss at length the dominant role of English in the sciences, they do not, however, link EMI with English language acquisition. If anything, they distance the two by affirming their positions as *science* teachers rather than as *language* teachers (see chapter 6). In fact, they do not see themselves as responsible for students’ English language learning at all. Hence, rather than portraying EMI programmes as the panacea for low English proficiency amongst French students (as in Parliament), local actors frame EMI as “preparing” students for their future scientific careers.

The idea that EMI “prepares” students also surfaces in university brochures:

Les parcours internationaux de l’UJF préparent les étudiants à un monde professionnel dans lequel, compte tenu de l’internationalisation croissante de tous les secteurs, il est de plus en plus indispensable de pouvoir communiquer en anglais dans le cadre de son travail. (Undergraduate brochure)

The international degrees at the UJF prepare students for a professional world in which, considering the increasing internationalisation in all sectors, it has become more and more indispensable to be able to communicate in English in the work environment.

Note how the brochure portrays English language skills as “indispensable”. This section features under the heading “une double compétence langue et science” (“*a dual competence in language and science*”) which suggests that EMI programmes lead to English language competence.⁸⁷ However, a closer look at the rest of the brochure reveals certain nuances: “ce parcours permet d’obtenir une formation solide

⁸⁷ The way in which EMI degrees are advertised to French students is relatively different to the way in which they are advertised to non-Francophone international students (see section 8.3.4). The acquisition of English language skills do not feature in brochures aimed at international students.

en biologie et en anglais scientifique grâce à des cours disciplinaires dispensés en anglais et des cours de perfectionnement d'anglais" (*"this programme provides a solid training in biology and scientific English thanks to courses taught in English and advanced English lessons"*) (Bachelor of Biology). It is not EMI in itself which enables English language competence but the combination of EMI and English language lessons. Furthermore, the brochure specifies that students will learn "scientific English" as opposed to "English" in general. This shows how the topos of "English language acquisition" (section 5.2.3.2) has been mitigated and adapted to the field of science.

Although I have illustrated how local recontextualisation involves processes of selection and transformation, I argue that the KBE narrative acts as an overarching discursive frame. For example, the argument that EMI "prepares" students for the global market echoes wider circulating discourses on employability and economic competitiveness. The fact that Wächter and Maiworm (2014) identify "making domestic students fit for global/international markets" as one of the most quoted reasons for EMI is significant. This illustrates the extent to which interdiscursive connections stretch across national boundaries. Furthermore, the way in which EMI is described in terms of equipping students with the necessary "skills" and "competences" is symptomatic of the "skills" rhetoric which is typical of the KBE ideology (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011). The result is that of the "two major EU narratives on European democracy and the European Knowledge-Based Economy", the latter prevails (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2011: 118). Hence the discourse on EMI at the university level is not really concerned with issues of democratisation.

8.5 Summary

Chapter 8 highlighted the discursive connections across policy layers. The aim was to see which discourses from the national level were foregrounded or backgrounded in the university context. I found that although the theme of "Francophonie" was prominent throughout the parliamentary debates, it was virtually inexistent at the university level. The term "rayonnement" (associated with "Francophonie") remained, yet it took on a new meaning and only featured in institutional documents. Conversely, the discourse on "attractiveness" was largely taken up by local actors. The focus on attracting international students through EMI was just as pervasive at the UJF level

and was manifested in a variety of ways (through university brochures, policy documents, interviews and classroom practices). Finally, although traces of “democratisation” subsisted in two interviews, these were largely overridden by discourses of economic competitiveness. I found that overall, in the university, EMI was predominantly framed by an overarching hegemonic EU discourse which places emphasis on the knowledge-based economy.

Chapter 9

Discussion

9.1 Introduction

I set out at the beginning of the thesis to explore how Article 2 has been locally recontextualised within a specific French university (the UJF). So far, I have shown how Article 2 has travelled through policy layers and undergone complex processes of policy creation, interpretation and appropriation. I started out by examining the outer layer of the “onion” (the national policy context), then moved to the institutional layer and finally focused on the centre of the “onion”: the EMI classroom (cf. “onion metaphor” section 3.2.2). I then illustrated how policy layers permeate and interact with each other. The study has attempted to slice through the “onion” (ethnographically speaking) to reveal the processes of translation and recontextualisation involved in policy enactment. What has emerged is that EMI is part of an ideological struggle at the national level. Politicians try to influence and shape the discursive construction of EMI by forming a constellation of ideas around it. The parliamentary debates reveal that EMI is a highly political and controversial subject. Conversely, at the university level, EMI remains largely uncontested. Teachers view English as part of their daily academic routine and repeatedly insist on how EMI is “not a problem”. As a result, despite existing discursive connections across policy layers, EMI appears to take on significantly different meanings in each policy context.

This chapter explores why Article 2 has been recontextualised in particular ways in particular contexts. In other words, I examine why EMI is contentious at the national level but appears to have become normalised within the university context. I first discuss the politicisation of EMI in order to understand why politicians compete over certain discursive representations before I go on to relate the EMI debate to today’s general political climate. I then move on to the naturalisation of EMI in the university context where offering and teaching courses in English is considered to be completely normal. I argue that the naturalisation of EMI is in itself problematic as the introduction of courses in English has not been given enough thought. I show how teaching in a second language is far from being a straightforward process and a lack of awareness about EMI can have serious consequences on teaching and learning.

Finally, I explain why discourses on EMI in the political sphere do not necessarily align with discourses at the university level.

9.2 The politicisation of EMI

9.2.1 Popular representations of EMI in the media

Chapter 1 pointed out that there is a tendency for scholars to portray the “French” as particularly inimical to the English language. No doubt the reaction to EMI is stronger in France than in any other country. Following the announcement of the Fioraso bill on 20th March 2013, the “Académie Française” was the first to react (the next day) by issuing a statement denouncing the “marginalisation” of the French language. Shortly after, there was a deluge of official declarations, reports, letters and petitions from various organisations and individuals (showing opposition to EMI as well as support).⁸⁸ From May to July 2013, I gathered over 50 press articles dealing with the EMI controversy (see appendix 17). The topic also featured four times on the main evening news edition of three major television channels. It is important to note that, out of all the articles present in the Fioraso bill (a total number of 69 articles), Article 2 is the one which was at the centre of all the attention. In the parliamentary debates, the discussions around Article 2 took up a disproportionate amount of time (some MPs comment on this on several occasions). In total, 185 parliamentarians signed amendments to repeal Article 2. Suffice it to say that the attempt to introduce EMI did not go unnoticed. Yet I contend that the media limelight should not be interpreted as a reflection of public opinion.

Indeed, the media portrayal of the EMI debate should be handled with caution. Estival and Pennycook (2011: 326) warn against “popular linguistic discourse”, that is, discussions in public media about language as well as “popularizing texts by linguists themselves” (i.e. “folk linguistics”). They believe popular views about language can have “profound consequences when they make their way into the public arena and are taken seriously by policy-makers” (Estival and Pennycook 2011: 326). The media is particularly influential because it reaches a much broader audience than language legislation. Second-hand accounts of policy play a central role in shaping public opinion since most people rely on the press and the media in general as a preferred

⁸⁸ See appendices 18, 20 and 21.

source of information (rather than reading the legal texts themselves). The fact that the media picked up the EMI debate therefore makes it an especially political and ideological matter. In other words, the mediatisation of Article 2 further contributes to the politicisation of EMI.

With regards to Article 2, I argue that the media perpetuates the cliché that (some) French people will defend their language at all costs.⁸⁹ Many journalists treat the subject with humour by using hyperbolic language (notably belligerent vocabulary) and deliberately insert English words for comic relief. Articles are often rich with overdramatic quotes from French intellectuals who are vehemently opposed to EMI. This comes as no surprise since extreme points of view prove more entertaining for the readership. The fiercest critics of EMI thus receive a disproportionate amount of coverage in the media. Consequently, the press gives a false sense of widespread discontent when in fact they mostly focus on a small (but vocal) minority. Furthermore, the French cultural elites are given a platform to voice their opinions. People like Claude Hagège and Michel Serres, for example, were overrepresented in the media during the Article 2 controversy.⁹⁰ These intellectual figures (both born in the 1930s) can hardly be seen to reflect the majority of the French population. Yet Claude Hagège appeared twice on the main 8pm evening news (on TF1 and France 2, the most viewed television channels) and also wrote an article in the newspaper *Le Monde* (one of the most widely read and influential national newspapers).⁹¹ Michel Serres was also interviewed on the evening news on France 2 (the same day as Claude Hagège) and was invited to talk on France Info radio. These personalities generally hold extremely negative views on English/EMI. Indeed, in his article “Refusons le

⁸⁹ A brief analysis of newspaper article titles is sufficient to see how the topic is reduced to dualistic and/or sensationalist terms:

“Pour ou contre des cursus ‘tout en anglais’ dans les universités françaises” (*Huffington Post*, 26/04/13), “Réforme des universités: pour ou contre les cours en anglais?” (*Le Point*, 30/04/13), “Le développement des cours en anglais à l’université déchire le monde académique” (*Le Monde*, 09/05/13), “L’anglais enflamme les amphithéâtres” (*Libération*, 20/05/13).

“For or against ‘English-only programmes’ in French universities” (*Huffington Post*), “University reform: for or against classes in English?” (*Le Point*), “The spread of classes in English is dividing the academic world” (*Le Monde*), “English is igniting lecture theatres” (*Libération*).

⁹⁰ Claude Hagège (born in 1936) is a professor at the Collège de France (a prestigious and world-renowned institution) and linguist who regularly appears on French television and the radio. He is an outspoken defender of French language. He is the author of numerous books including: *Le Français, histoire d’un combat* (1996), *Halte à la mort des langues* (2001) and *Contre la pensée unique* (2012). Michel Serres (born in 1930) is a French philosopher, author and member of the Académie Française. He has published over 70 books. He compares the invasion of English words to the Nazi occupation.

⁹¹ Appearances on television: France 2 (15 May 2013) and TF1 (21 May 2013).

sabordage du français” (*Le Monde*, 25 April 2013), Claude Hagège uses metaphors of war, disease and destruction to describe EMI (“cancer”, “auto-destruction”, “suicidaire”, “nous sommes en guerre!”).⁹² After Article 2 was voted, Michel Serres declared that he would go on strike against the English language and boycott all products with English names. He concludes in an article:

La classe dominante n’a jamais parlé la même langue que le peuple. Autrefois ils parlaient latin et nous, on parlait français. Maintenant la classe dominante parle anglais et le français est devenu la langue des pauvres; et moi je défends la langue des pauvres. (*La Dépêche du Midi*, 20 October 2013)

The ruling class has never spoken the same language as the people. In the past they spoke Latin, we spoke French. Now the ruling class speaks English and French has become the language of the poor; and I personally defend the language of the poor.

These types of remarks tend to get taken up by journalists (and academics) in a rather tongue-in-cheek fashion which ends up trivialising the issue. Regarding the above quote, Hazareesingh (2015: 229) ironically comments: “the ever-creative Michel Serres [...] plac[es] himself at the vanguard of the new wretched of the earth”. While Hazareesingh’s (2015) book (entitled *How the French Think*) proves extremely entertaining, I believe that his analysis is warped as it is mostly supported by a string of quotations from this “cultural elite”. By constantly selecting the most apocalyptic and alarmist discourses, popular linguistic discourse ends up ridiculing all opposition to English/EMI and positioning it as old-fashioned. I argue that the strong reaction against Article 2 in Parliament cannot simply be interpreted as “a sense of nostalgia for the golden age of French universalism and the belief in the absolute supremacy of its language” (Hazareesingh 2015: 228). To reduce the EMI debate to a nostalgic longing for French “grandeur” is missing the wider political and social significance.

Estival and Pennycook (2011) highlight the serious consequences of this type of popular linguistic discourse. By continually viewing all opposition to EMI as reactionary, they argue that it promotes a particular set of beliefs about English and the contemporary global order. The English language, which is associated with the young, modern and free stands out against the antiquated “immortals” (i.e. members of the “Académie Française”). I concur that the popular image of French resistance can inadvertently (and sometimes deliberately) reinforce language ideologies and

⁹² “suicidal”, “we are at war”.

stereotypes. In popular linguistic discourse, the views of the cultural elite become emblematic of all EMI opponents. It would be a mistake to treat all resistance to Article 2 as homogeneous. As I will show, different actors support or condemn EMI for a variety of reasons. In the next section I explore why the EMI debate at the parliamentary level has become a site of political and ideological struggle.

9.2.2 Political representations of EMI

In chapter 5, I showed how politicians try to shape the discursive construction of EMI in order to justify (or condemn) the decision to allow more courses to be taught in English. Part of “doing politics” is getting people to see things a certain way and accept a particular narrative. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 4) discuss how politicians seek to impose or win the acceptance of particular representations in order to make people more inclined to accept or favour certain policies. In other words, politics is about convincing an audience that a particular point of view or line of action is right. Their understanding is similar to that of Wodak (2009: 29) who views politics as “intrinsically linked with shaping, thinking and doing”. For her, politics is primarily a hegemonic struggle where politicians compete for power by trying to impose certain representations. In terms of the EMI debate at the political level, the narrative which prevails will strongly affect the outcome of the vote (i.e. adopting or rejecting Article 2). Politicians are therefore not simply arguing about whether or not courses in English should be allowed, they are debating narratives: “parliamentary debates have a highly adversarial, antagonistic nature, given fundamental differences in values, goals and beliefs” (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012: 206-207). With this in mind, it becomes easier to understand why political actors vote for or against proposals for a variety of different reasons. Both EMI proponents and opponents may support Article 2 if they believe it meets their political aims. In other words, voting for Article 2 does not necessarily mean being for EMI, just as voting against Article 2 does not mean being against EMI *per se*.

Language policies are effectively responses to perceived current problems but also articulations of prospective futures:

The essence of policy, then, is to identify problems and to provide ways of acting to address them. However, language policies do not simply present a plan of action in response to a perceived need, but also construct the action and need in particular ways. In so doing, policy texts encode the world in certain

ways and privilege some ways of understanding the world over others. Both problem and solution are discursive constructs. (Liddicoat 2013:12)

Language policy texts are therefore much more than just solutions to language “problems”, they are ideological constructs which promote certain ways of seeing the world. Hence voting for Article 2 becomes much more than just accepting courses in English. It means aligning one’s self with a particular political vision. For example, Article 2 is part of a wider economic agenda which means that voting for the proposal also entails accepting a politico-economic system. Conversely, opposing Article 2 becomes a way of rejecting a worldview. This is why the EMI debate at the national level is so controversial. It is because it is profoundly political and ideological.

In order to further demonstrate the ideological dimension of Article 2 I draw on Mannheim’s (1936) distinction between *particular* and *total* ideologies. I include in the former category group-specific ideologies (such as socialism, Gaullism, Marxism, conservative ideology etc.). These groups are recognisable precisely by their particular set of ideas. For example, a “socialist” is someone who adheres to the “ideas, values, rhetorical patterns, canonized texts, and views of society” of socialism (Blommaert 2005b: 161). A “particular” ideology is in this sense a fairly identifiable set of beliefs which is used for its instrumental function: “the particular conception of ideology is implied when the term denotes that we are sceptical of ideas and representations advanced by our opponent” (Mannheim 1936: 49). Mannheim (1936) sees “particular” ideologies as instruments of power since they are partisan views which serve the aims and interests of specific actors.

Conversely, “total” ideologies are all-pervasive, general and characterise the totality of the population. They cannot be located in a particular site or attributed to a particular group since they penetrate the whole fabric of society. Total ideologies are common sense formulations of the world which are typically unquestioned. They are ways of thinking which have become normalised and naturalised. For Mannheim (1936), the “total” conception of ideology is the entire *Weltanschauung* or worldview of a society. When “particular” ideologies become accepted not as political *constructions* of the world but as *descriptions* of it, then these become “total” (Liddicoat 2013).

For Blommaert (2005b: 166), “the difference between total and particular ideologies is a temporal-sequential difference, the different kinds of ideology represent different

stages in the process of historical change”. For example, over time, a “total” ideology (e.g. French-only ideology) can be disrupted and displaced by a “particular” ideology (e.g. EMI in French universities) which can in turn become a totalising ideology in itself. This is precisely what EMI opponents are worried about. Some MPs are concerned that if EMI becomes part of French national language policy legislation then this will effectively normalise teaching in English. However, it is in the interest of EMI supporters to do just this, to construct EMI in such a way that it can become a “total” ideology. They attempt to depoliticise EMI in order to give the impression that it is not part of a specific or “particular” ideology but rather part of a more *general* common interest. If EMI cannot be located or attributed to a particular political party or group then it becomes more easily normalised and taken for granted. These politicians attach “universal” values to EMI which transcend traditional political divisions. For example, EMI is associated with modernity, democracy, social justice and socio-economic development. In principle, these are shared values which appear to be common sense for most people. It would be extremely unlikely for a French politician to argue against a more modern, democratic, just and prosperous society. On the other hand, if EMI is linked to Anglo-Saxon culture, elitism and open borders then it becomes much more political and open to contestation. Hence EMI supporters try to avoid as much as possible political associations that can be linked to “particular” ideologies. As soon as EMI becomes uncontested this means it has achieved a hegemonic “total” status. The normalisation of EMI in French higher education is not, however, seen by all as a desirable future state of affairs. Indeed, many resist the totalising accounts of EMI by stressing its “particular” qualities. The parliamentary debates are therefore a site of struggle where MPs seek to impose their own representations of EMI so that these representations may become “total”. The media plays a central role in producing and reproducing ideologies. As Blommaert (2005: 163) notes, no idea is itself ideological unless it is operated by power-regulating institutions such as the media. Politicians are very much aware of the totalising effect of the media which is partly why the debate is so intense.

In chapter 5 I showed how opponents and proponents of EMI alike repeatedly stress France’s “rayonnement” across the world. These references to France’s “rayonnement” could be interpreted as a form of nostalgia. Indeed, Pelletier (2010, my translation) argues that the term reflects “a depressing and permanent nostalgia for a

golden age”. However, it is not only the defenders of French who deploy such discourses, far from it. EMI advocates equally stress the need to restore France’s prestige and “grandeur”. This is not because all French MPs suffer from depressing nostalgia, it is because it is part of their argumentation strategy in the discursive struggle. By stressing discourses on “Francophonie” and “rayonnement”, I argue that pro-EMI politicians are strategically placing emphasis on France (and its language) rather than on English. They are deliberately highlighting shared goals in an attempt to downplay disagreement and criticism. EMI supporters thus find themselves adopting similar discourses to defenders of French language to stress common ground.

This is why I contend that French politicians are in reality more accepting of EMI than their political rhetoric may suggest. EMI supporters have to play the “Francophonie” card and be seen to firmly promote French language if they want to stand a chance of getting the bill passed. Considering the long history of language policy legislation in France and the important budget that the French government allocates to the promotion of French language and French culture abroad, it would be a political mistake to appear not to want to defend the French language.⁹³ As a result, the discourse on the protection of French language is overly stressed (in Parliament but also in the final version of the bill). Gordon and Meunier (2001: 4) remind us that publicly, the Chirac government and parliamentary majority maintained a discourse of protecting the French people from the pervasive effects of globalisation and capitalism while at the same time they continued to liberalise and privatise large sections of the economy. The authors observe that “France is actually adapting to the globalized world economy to a far greater degree than French leaders—who must maintain the notion that the French state is still in control—are prepared to admit” (Gordon and Meunier 2001: 9). They argue that the French tend to adapt to globalisation quietly “because it remains taboo to sing too loudly the praises of liberalization and globalization” (Gordon and Meunier 2001: 14). To a certain extent I would say that the same applies to language policies in France. Political actors want to take part in the global knowledge economy while maintaining an appearance of loyalty to French language and culture. As discussed in chapter 5, the list of conditions

⁹³ In 2016, the French government allocated a budget of 21.5 million euros for the promotion of French language and 43.4 million euros for the diffusion of French culture (<http://www.senat.fr/rap/a15-166-2/a15-166-27.html>). This is partly why Article 2 is almost systematically discussed in terms of how it can strengthen or weaken French language and culture.

in Article 2 gives a sense that the centralised state is still in control. Hence some politicians support EMI but do not seem prepared to admit it publicly. Perhaps Minister Fioraso is right to denounce an underlying “hypocrisy” throughout the debate.

Fairclough and Fairclough’s (2012) discussion of practical argumentation is particularly useful here. For them, politicians explain (or “narrate”) an *existing state of affairs* and its current problems (the “**narratives**”); describe (or “imagine”) the goal or the *future state of affairs* they want to bring about (the “**imaginaries**”) and identify a *proposed line of action* to arrive at the goal (the **policy**). In other words, Article 2 (the policy) is presented as a solution to go from the current state of affairs to the future state of affairs.

Table 14 illustrates how arguments are built on different premises. It shows how different groups may have similar “imaginaries” but not necessarily the same means or values. For example, MPs may agree on the need to improve France’s “rayonnement”, however, they may fundamentally disagree on the way to do so and on the values underpinning this goal. Hence discourses which appear similar may in fact be based on completely different premises and ideals. It is precisely these points of contention which make EMI a contested “particular” ideology and not a “total” one in the political sphere. Despite efforts to incorporate opponents’ concerns, the attempts to naturalise EMI into patterns of thought and behaviour are largely unsuccessful (at the national level). As suggested above, the media uproar and the lively political debates reflect the extent to which EMI is still far from going unchallenged. Even though MPs eventually come to an agreement on a final version of the bill (after numerous revisions and amendments), EMI still remains an extremely controversial topic.

Means-end premise (course of action/proposal/policy)	Circumstantial premise (example of “narratives”, existing state of affairs)	Goal premise (example of “imaginaries”, future state of affairs)	Value premise (example of values which underlie goals)
Introduce EMI (i.e. in favour of Article 2)	“France does not attract enough international students”	“Rayonnement” of France Improving France’s political/cultural/linguistic influence Attracting more international students	Free trade Openness Globalism Competitiveness
Maintain French as the sole medium of instruction (i.e. against Article 2)			Protectionism Linguistic diversity Patriotism

Table 14. Examples of premises in argumentation⁹⁴

9.2.3 EMI and populism

I argue that the EMI debate is instrumentalised for political reasons which do not have much to do with EMI in university education. The fiercest EMI opponents in Parliament deliberately create a divide between “nationalists” (who argue for linguistic/cultural protectionism and state-sovereignty) and “globalists” (who tend to favour “open” markets, deregulation and free trade) through an “us” and “them” opposition. This can be seen as a populist strategy whereby EMI is used as a “scapegoat for most if not all current woes” (Wodak 2015: 2). Those who endorse EMI are subsequently construed as the enemy and traitors to the French nation. These politicians are not against courses in English as such, rather they oppose what EMI, in their view, stands for (e.g. globalisation, deregulation etc.). What characterises populist discourse is its “appeal to the common man/woman as opposed to the elites” (Wodak 2015: 7). Michel Serres’s quote (page 218) is certainly characteristic of populist rhetoric. He very clearly opposes the French “people” and the language of the “poor” (“us”) to the “ruling class” (“them”). This fear mongering is not just common to French intellectuals and politicians, it can also be found outside mainstream media and politics.

During the parliamentary debates, a number of petitions against Article 2 were circulating online (see appendix 20). A brief review of these reveals how EMI is associated with globalisation (“mondialistes”, “euro-mondialisation”), Atlanticism (“OTAN”), free trade (“TAFTA”, “libre-échange”, “le matraquage idéologique

⁹⁴ Based on Fairclough and Fairclough (2012).

néolibéral”, “Union Européenne”), the elites (“les élites bourgeoises”, “une oligarchie mondiale”) and Americanisation (“colonisation”, “modèle anglo-saxon”, “la langue de McDonald’s”). The way in which EMI is linked to a variety of different political issues reveals the extent to which EMI, at the political level, is not at all about education or pedagogy. The petitions range from the extreme left to the extreme right, yet a common observation is that they are linked by expressions of support for sovereignty (national or popular), Euroscepticism and anti-globalisation. The fact that politicians from across the political spectrum speak up against EMI suggests that the issue goes beyond the traditional left-right divide.⁹⁵ In these petitions, EMI is clearly associated with the global elites and juxtaposed against the politics of the “people”. The working class (“les ouvriers”), who speak French, are pitted against the employers (“le patronat”, “MEDEF”⁹⁶), who are said to speak English. These are perfect examples of populist discourse where the political complexities are reduced to “Manichean dichotomies” (“friends and foes, perpetrators and victims, and so forth”, Wodak 2015: 5). The “they” (i.e. the elites) can be anything from employers, governing parties to the European Union. Pelinka (2013: 9) notes how today populist anti-elitism is “directed against those who seem to be responsible for Europeanization and globalization” (quoted in Wodak 2015: 4). This shows the extent to which it is not just a conservative cultural elite composed of language purists who reject EMI. Here various groups have seized on the EMI debate and moulded it in a way to suit their own political agenda. Resisting EMI becomes a way of rejecting the establishment. This reflects the way in which “particular” ideologies (such as EMI as a symbol of the establishment) can be used as weapons against capitalism, for instance. Here the discursive construction of EMI is used as a tool for power and change. The way in which EMI is constructed as a scapegoat is a form of “particular” ideology in that it serves the aims and purposes of specific groups. However, the fact that these discourses occur across traditional political boundaries and are adopted by a variety of groups may indicate that they are beginning to have a totalising effect.

⁹⁵ I am not suggesting that there is no difference between right and left wing populism, rather I am highlighting the fact that they can have similar goals (albeit underpinned by very different values). As Wodak (2015: 8) points out: “Left-wing and right-wing populist parties differ in important aspects, namely in that the latter are inwards looking, thus primarily nationalist/chauminist, referring to a nativist body politics, while left-wing populist parties are traditionally oriented towards internationalism or post-nationalism”.

⁹⁶ The “Mouvement des entreprises de France” (MEDEF) is the largest employer federation in France.

Politicians are continuously adjusting their rhetoric to the current political climate. It is no coincidence that on 3rd May 2017, in the French presidential debate (Macron vs. Le Pen), Emmanuel Macron mentioned the “rayonnement” of France and its language within the first two minutes of his intervention. With the rise of nationalism and populism across Europe, Brexit and growing EU-scepticism, I believe that we will witness an increasing number of politicians emphasising national languages. It is significant that on 5th May 2017, the European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker symbolically chose to give a speech in French after declaring that the English language was “losing importance” in the EU. With the recent election of Emmanuel Macron (who is a former investment banker) we are seeing a resurgence of statements against the English language. A neologism which is currently in vogue in the French press is the term “macronisation”. It is interesting how it is now being applied to language. Georges Gastaud, a philosopher and communist militant wrote a petition proposing to end the “macronisation” of the French language in January 2017.⁹⁷ While there is no strict definition of this term, it usually involves links with finance, business and banks (“l’oligarchie politico-financière”). In this petition he refers to the “carcan linguistique de l’américanisation du monde” (“the linguistic yoke of the Americanisation of the world”). Again there is an opposition between the elites and the French “people”. While the anti-American discourse has existed at least since the time of General de Gaulle, the discursive construction of English as the language of finance takes on a different meaning in the current politico-economic climate. Populist discourses are particularly prominent in times of uncertainty and political/economic instability. It comes as no surprise that in Marine Le Pen’s presidential programme the 96th proposition was: “Defend French language: repeal the measures from the Fioraso Law which limit French medium instruction in universities” (note that this measure featured under the title: “A proud France: defending the unity of France and its national identity”, my translation). On the other side of the political spectrum, Jean-Luc Mélenchon’s party, “La France Insoumise”, proposed to reinforce the dispositions of the 1994 Toubon Law and fight against “cette oligarchie qui parle le dollar” (“this oligarchy that speaks the language of the dollar”).⁹⁸ In this report the English language is negatively associated with the elite, globalisation and neoliberalism. I argue that this

⁹⁷ <http://libertesconquises.blogspot.co.uk/2017/01/resistance-ou-collaboration-linguistique.html>

⁹⁸ <https://avenirencommun.fr/livret-francophonie-politique/>

is symptomatic of a wider political discontent which stretches beyond French borders. Hence it is not just the French “hardy crusaders” and “cultural warriors” (Hazareesingh 2015: 226-227) who are concerned about the spread of EMI. Many critics outside of France also challenge the spread of EMI and link this resistance “to anti-capitalist or anti-imperialist causes, and to the protection of human and community rights” (Coleman 2006: 2). Resistance to EMI should not be trivialised or dismissed as backwards since it may well not only reinforce ideologies about English but also reveal growing pessimism, anxiety and disaffection. There is a temptation in popular linguistic discourse to attribute contestation to something “typically French”. While the national historical context certainly cannot be overlooked, the current political zeitgeist seems equally important.

9.3 Problematising EMI in the university context

9.3.1 The naturalisation of EMI in the university context

Contrary to the political domain where EMI is part of an ideological struggle, at the university level, EMI goes largely uncontested and is perceived more as an instrument of communication and as a tool for attracting international students. Overall, it is accepted in an uncritical manner and is discussed in pragmatic terms. In this section, I discuss how EMI has become “naturalised” in the university context and more specifically how it has become part of teachers’ daily activities.

Fairclough (1989: 76) defines “naturalization” as a process by which discourses (and practices) cease to be seen as arbitrary and lose their ideological character. This is when certain ideas, practices or beliefs are viewed as ‘normal’: “naturalization is the royal road to common sense” (Fairclough 1989: 76). I argue that EMI has become naturalised in the UJF in that it is perceived as entirely normal and commonsensical. I am not suggesting that EMI has become so dominant that all other ways of seeing/doing things have been entirely suppressed, rather I contend that EMI is believed to be ideologically neutral.⁹⁹ EMI has not become *completely* naturalised in the sense that teachers are performing EMI unconsciously or “without thinking”

⁹⁹ “When most people in a society think alike about certain matters, or even forget that there are alternatives to the status quo, we arrive at the Gramsci concept of ‘hegemony’” (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 9). I do not see EMI as having achieved hegemony in this sense. Teaching courses in French is an obvious alternative and courses in English represent only a small percentage of the total number of courses available at the UJF.

(Fairclough 1989: 27). However, the introduction of EMI remains largely unquestioned. In this respect it has become a “total” ideology.

In chapter 8 I discussed how programmes in English feature in various university documents (university brochures and internationalisation policy documents) and on the university’s website (alternately under “programmes taught in English”, “international programmes” and “excellence pathway”). Although the actual labels used to refer to EMI are inconsistent, the textual references nevertheless give it a certain permanence. I argue that the solidification of EMI into local texts contributes to the process of naturalisation. Once EMI is included in official university documents (both online and offline), English officially becomes part of the university’s language ecology. The repeated references to courses in English end up normalising EMI. Hence the UJF inadvertently participates in the production and reproduction of EMI ideology. Even though the university has no official language policy as such, EMI is still very much institutionalised and the presence of EMI in institutional discourse effectively anchors it into a social structure.

The fact that decisions regarding language are subsumed into internationalisation policy documents reflects the extent to which courses in English are viewed in instrumental terms. Unlike at the parliamentary level where EMI is thought of as having worldwide repercussions, at the university level, the introduction of EMI courses is conceived as a way of taking part in the internationalised higher education context. In other words, EMI is viewed as a tool for internationalisation rather than as an entire worldview characterising the whole fabric of society. The links between EMI and internationalisation are, however, never questioned or challenged which means that EMI functions ideologically: “we are currently witnessing the emergence of a new ‘logic’ in which it is ‘natural’ to assume that universities ‘obviously’ need to introduce English in order to fulfil their societal role” (Mortensen and Haberland 2012: 191). The appropriation of dominant discourses on internationalisation by teachers (and especially university administrators) works towards the legitimisation of EMI. Viewed as an internationalisation strategy, the instrumental representation of EMI gives the impression that it is neutral: “the apparent emptying of ideological content of discourses is, paradoxically, a fundamental ideological effect” (Fairclough 1989: 76).

Not only is EMI institutionalised, it is “routinised” in teachers’ professional discourse.¹⁰⁰ Whereas politicians envisage EMI as a “total”, all pervasive ideology affecting the whole of French society, for teachers, EMI is just one part of being an academic. Chapter 6 discussed how for EMI teachers, English is *the* language of science. In this sense, EMI has nothing to do with French identity or French culture, it is about science. Although teachers may not necessarily approve of the hegemony of English in the sciences, they accept it. The predominant belief is that English is the lingua franca of science (whether you like it or not). It is in this way that English becomes naturalised into teachers’ own professional talk. The emphasis on English as a scientific lingua franca is a form of ideology in itself, as what counts as a lingua franca is a matter of point of view. The English language is nevertheless depicted as the preferred medium through which scientists from across the world collaborate and communicate. Learning English thus becomes a question of acquiring the necessary skills to connect with the international community of scientists. If using English is part of the daily academic routine, then it becomes easy to justify courses in English. However, according to Fairclough (1989: 77), all justifications should be seen as a form of “rationalization”:

[R]ationalizations [are] part and parcel of naturalization: together with the generation of common-sense discourse practices comes the generation of common-sense rationalizations of such practices, which serve to legitimize them.

Hence all the claims that appear to rationalise EMI (such as “English is the language of science”) should be understood as contributing to the process of naturalisation. It is partly because English is seen as “natural” for scientists that the transition to EMI is considered commonsensical.

On the whole, EMI is understood as an extremely straightforward process in terms of implementation. Even though there is no language policy at the UJF, no directives or guidance about how EMI should be introduced, teaching in English is not perceived as a problem. In theory, the absence of institutional language policy effectively opens up a space for diverse interpretations and practices. The university’s *laissez-faire* approach to EMI means that, in practice, anything can qualify as EMI since there are

¹⁰⁰ “Routinization” is defined by Giddens (1984: 376) as “the habitual, taken-for-granted character of the vast bulk of activities of day-to-day social life; the prevalence of familiar styles and forms of conduct”.

no official guidelines. Decisions are made on a purely ad hoc individual basis and teachers enact EMI as they see fit. Although Ball (1993) views policies as problems which have to be solved by practitioners, here EMI is viewed as a natural solution: teachers go into the classroom and give the class in English instead of French; they deliver courses in English in the same way as they would teach a class in French. According to Kuteeva and Airey (2014), this purely utilitarian attitude to the use of English is more prominent with natural scientists than with scholars from other academic disciplines. Natural scientists are mostly concerned with getting the scientific message across. This is one interpretation of EMI but there could be many other configurations. For example, EMI programmes could require teacher training beforehand. In fact EMI teacher training and accreditation is becoming a growing area of research as it is generally agreed that teaching in another language is not as easy as the teachers in Grenoble seem to suggest.

The notion that teachers can reproduce the same course in English and in French and seamlessly switch from one language to another is profoundly flawed. Moreover, the idea that courses in English are perfectly transposable from one context to another is deeply misinformed and shows a lack of (socio)linguistic awareness. So while teachers do not problematise EMI I argue that this is in itself highly problematic. A purely utilitarian and pragmatic approach to EMI can in fact, as I will show in the following section, have a pernicious effects on teaching and learning.

9.3.2 A need for greater EMI awareness

During the interviews, teachers maintained that EMI was “not a problem” despite reporting numerous linguistic challenges (see chapter 6). Similar perceived challenges have been reported in other studies: lack of nuance/accuracy/precision (Airey 2011; Hellekjaer 2007; Tange 2010; Vinke 1995; Wilkinson 2005), lack of vocabulary (both specialised vocabulary and colloquial/everyday language, reduced linguistic flexibility) (Tange 2010; Wilkinson 2005), reduced spontaneity (less improvisation, fewer jokes and anecdotes) (Airey 2011; Tange 2010; Wilkinson 2005) and limited ability to engage in verbal interaction with students (Hellekjaer 2007; Knapp 2011; Tange 2010). Even though teachers tend to downplay their limitations, these issues cannot be ignored as they necessarily have pedagogical and communicative implications.

During my fieldwork, I observed that lecturing in English seems to work quite well on the whole in that teachers are largely in control of who speaks and when. In chapter 7 I used the notion of “safe space” to describe how teachers strictly manage the EMI performance. I observed that as soon as teachers start moving out of these “safe spaces”, communication becomes slightly more difficult. Hence although on the surface the EMI performance seems to go fairly smoothly, certain aspects are problematic. Overall, I observed little interaction, a restricted linguistic repertoire, lack of casual exchanges, few anecdotes, lack of humour and low student participation.¹⁰¹

The asymmetrical performance where teachers dominate the front stage (almost performing a monologue) is a way of maintaining control. By limiting the possibilities for interaction, teachers can preserve their “face” as they can stick to their planned lecture without worrying about unexpected, spontaneous queries. Indeed, in interactive lessons there is a greater risk of “overt disturbance”: observable breakdown of communication, silences, requests for clarification etc. (Björkman 2010). Yet this does not mean that lectures are free from communicative disturbance or misunderstandings. Björkman (2010) argues that lectures risk “covert disturbance”, that is, invisible forms of communication breakdown. Airey (2012b) specifically recommends not using lectures when teaching in a second language, as students focus on the process of notetaking rather than trying to follow the lecture. In a study conducted by Wilkinson (2005) teachers in the Netherlands reported finding lectures ineffective for EMI. They believed it was important to create more space for student participation and discussion as this helped students build self-confidence. The problem with traditional lectures, Björkman (2010: 85) contends, is that they are monologic events where “the listener has very few opportunities, if any, to check his/her own understanding and general comprehension problems are most likely to occur”. She recommends increasing interactivity in lectures in order to make them more dialogic, thereby creating more opportunities for negotiation of meaning. Airey and Linder (2006: 7) attribute lack of interaction in lectures to three possible factors: “student uncertainty about whether they have understood the question correctly, fear of revealing lack of understanding to the lecturer and a fear of speaking English”. I would also add to this list the fact that teachers leave little space for questions and interaction

¹⁰¹ One could justifiably argue that I would also witness low participation, limited interaction etc. in a French medium class. However, prior research strongly supports my observations.

thereby limiting the risk of “overt disturbance”. Wilkinson (2012) argues that students may find that passively listening to lectures in English does not enhance their own productive competences (writing and speaking). This is why it has been suggested that student-centred learning is perhaps preferable (Klaassen 2001; Wilkinson 2005).

The problem with recommending more interaction is that EMI teachers and students in France do not necessarily have sufficient proficiency in English. I witnessed at first hand the students’ reluctance and/or inability to ask and answer questions in English. Most EMI studies advocating greater use of discussion, interaction and student-centred approaches originate from northern Europe.¹⁰² The English proficiency levels in northern Europe tend to be much higher than in France. Indeed, Hellekjaer (2007) comments on the fact that many Norwegians are orally proficient in everyday situations. This is certainly not the case in France. I argue that proficiency *and* confidence are crucial. I observed that the teachers who were the most comfortable moving in and out of their “safe space” were the American (i.e. a “native speaker”) and the Italian teacher (who is experienced in teaching in English). Several studies have shown how teachers with such experience feel more comfortable and encounter fewer problems (Hellekjaer 2007; Klaassen 2001; Kling 2015; Tange 2010; Vinke 1995). Not only does the Italian teacher have extensive experience teaching in English (in France and abroad), he is the one who set up the first EMI programme at the UJF (which in itself shows confidence). If teachers do not feel comfortable answering questions in English then there is no point in recommending greater verbal interaction in EMI classrooms as this might be considered face-threatening.

Hence teachers tend to stick to a fairly rigid and inflexible form of EMI. Truchot (2013) argues that when courses are taught in English they end up being recited in a mechanical fashion. I agree with Truchot (2010) in that the carefully orchestrated EMI performance can seem at times quite unnatural (especially when the teacher and students are all French). In another study, Truchot (2010) contends that EMI is a technical exercise which consists of “oralising written texts” (my translation). This is perhaps somewhat of an exaggeration as I did not actually observe teachers reading from a script (i.e. from lecture notes). Rather, I used the notion of “safe scientific talk”

¹⁰² Klaassen’s (2001) study focused on the Netherlands and Björkman’s (2010) on Sweden, for example.

(chapter 7) to show how teachers stick to scientific academic discourse. My research supports Tange's (2010) study which found similar safe talk strategies in Denmark. Her participants acknowledged using purely academic discourse and avoiding language use that may expose linguistic weakness. She remarks how teachers possess a "very sophisticated English terminology in relation to their field of academic expertise and yet miss the words and phrases that enable them to engage in casual exchanges" (Tange 2010: 142). This leaves teachers with a very limited range of linguistic resources. Not being able to use colloquial language restricts possibilities for spontaneous comments, improvisation and informal discussion. When teachers switch to English it "confines them to a narrow linguistic repertoire" (Tange 2010: 142). Tange (2010) warns that reduced linguistic flexibility may have pedagogical consequences as teachers will be unable to provide student-friendly explanations and present scientific concepts in a more readily comprehensible fashion. During the classroom observations I hardly witnessed any jokes, anecdotes or everyday examples (except in the American teacher's class). All in all, if EMI is stripped of colloquial English what remains are extremely dry and formal classes. Furthermore, the instrumental approach to EMI whereby English is used to simply deliver scientific content is a fairly reductive view of teaching as it ignores all other wider communicative purposes (e.g. classroom management, social relations etc.). Surely teaching a course in English involves more than just transmission of scientific content. These are important pedagogic and curricular issues that need to be addressed in relation to further developments in university level EMI provision.

During the interviews (chapter 6), teachers insisted on how they did not speak English but "scientific English" (or "Globish"). I argue that speaking in a restricted scientific code is not sufficient to teach a university-level course. This very narrow and limited interpretation of EMI deprives it of its richness. If EMI is to capture some of the natural richness of language then it cannot exist without a cultural reference point (Lévy-

Leblond 1996).¹⁰³ Lévy-Leblond (1996) argues that the language of science cannot be reduced to communicating scientific results and “ne doit en aucun cas être confondue avec celles des écritures symboliques ou des terminologies systématiques” (“*should in no instance be confused with that of symbolic writing or systematic terminologies*”).

The lack of distinction between the language used in scientific journals and the language used for teaching is also problematic. The assumption is that because teachers conduct scientific research in English it is not a problem to teach science in English. Grin (2014: 130) points out this fallacy: “Arrêtons de mélanger enseignement et recherche, et de confondre les différents ‘moments’ d’un processus de recherche” (“*Let’s stop mixing teaching and research and confusing the different stages in the research process*”). Moreover, the complete dismissal of the language issue may be at odds with students’ expectations or needs. Hellekjaer (2007) noted in her study how teachers focus on content only while students want to improve their English. It is unlikely that students aspire to this so-called “Globish” or want to learn the form of Basic English described by the teachers. The way in which EMI teachers see themselves above all as science teachers and not as language teachers supports prior research (Airey 2012a; Knapp 2011). Similarly, Kling (2015) found in Denmark that science teachers are primarily concerned about content knowledge and scientific expertise rather than English proficiency. However, for Airey (2012a: 64), “all teachers are language teachers” since content and language are inherently interdependent and cannot easily be separated (Nikula et al. 2016).

Since language is not considered a priority within the UJF, EMI has been introduced without proper consideration. Drawing from the interview and classroom observation data, my research shows that teachers think of EMI in the same way as courses in French (the only difference being the medium of instruction). In other words, they teach a course in English as if English were an L1. Gajo (2013) terms this the

¹⁰³ Jean-Marc Lévy-Leblond is a prominent physicist but also a prolific writer on the role of language and culture in science. “La compétence linguistique limitée de beaucoup de scientifiques dans leur langue professionnelle est encore aggravée par l’absence de référence culturelle: comment imaginer une pratique langagière consciente et déterminée, plus critique et plus inventive à la fois, sans un profond enracinement dans la culture qu’exprime et qui sous-tend cette langue? Le problème n’est pas que les scientifiques pratiquent *trop* l’anglais, mais qu’ils le pratiquent *trop mal*” (Lévy-Leblond 1996: 8).

“*The limited linguistic competence of many scientists in their professional language is worsened by the absence of cultural reference: how can we imagine a conscious and specific language use, both critical and inventive, which is not firmly rooted in the culture which underpins this language and which it expresses. The problem is not that scientists use too much English but that they use it too badly*”.

“unilingue and endolingue” (monolingual and endolingual) mode. This is when the L2 (English in this case) is used in the same way as an L1. The teacher makes no attempt to adjust his/her teaching and speaks in the L2 as if it were everyone’s first language. According to Gajo (2013) this is the least desirable scenario. The second best is the *“unilingue et exolingue”* (monolingual and exolingual) mode in which the L2 is still the main medium of instruction but is acknowledged as a second language. The teacher adapts his/her teaching and accommodates for potential linguistic difficulties. In this mode, the L1 is only occasionally used (to complement missing words of vocabulary for instance). Finally, the mode which he recommends is the *“bi-plurilingue et exolingue”* (bilingual/multilingual and exolingual). Here the L2 is used in conjunction and in relation with the L1 (and other languages). Out of these three modes, the one which most closely represents the EMI classes that I observed is the first mode (the least desirable according to Gajo 2013). The interviews revealed the teachers’ monolingual and monolithic understanding of EMI (see chapter 6). Furthermore, chapter 7 illustrated how teachers virtually only use English during the lesson. Not only is English used for delivering scientific content, it is on certain occasions also used in informal situations. This finding differs slightly from previous research on EMI which suggests that in formal situations teachers tend to use English but in informal situations teachers tend to revert back to their first language (Ljosland 2010; Söderlundh 2012). In my research, teachers overwhelmingly use English, in all situations. Perhaps the teachers were refraining from speaking French in my presence. This is certainly possible, but even if they were deliberately using more English, this still reflects strong monolingual beliefs about EMI. I argue that teachers view EMI through a “monolingual and endolingual” lens. In other words, they make no distinction between classes taught in English and in French. It is possible (although this would require more research) that the bilingual mode could create a “safer” space for teachers and students. However, as Sierens and Van Avermaet (2014: 210) note, “the choice of a model should depend on the context in which it will be used and the category of students it will address”. What is certain is that “teachers can be key actors in bringing about more open and inclusive language policies in education” (Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2014: 24).

One of Airey and Linder’s (2006) recommendations to EMI teachers is that they should acknowledge the fact that there are differences when lectures are taught in a

second language. I concur that *all* EMI teachers should reflect on their teaching practices and adjust their teaching accordingly since EMI is not a straightforward process for anyone, even for so-called “native speakers of English”: “those who are more proficient speakers need to seek ways to communicate effectively with those who are not equally proficient, and that adaptation of one’s language to the situation and the speakers in that particular situation is necessary” (Björkman 2010: 87). Both Klaassen (2001) and Björkman (2010) insist that high proficiency does not ensure communicative effectiveness: “lecturers who are highly proficient in English do not necessarily make good lecturers unless they make frequent use of communication-enhancing pragmatic strategies” (Björkman 2010: 87).¹⁰⁴ Teachers in my study are aware of the linguistic differences between L1 and L2 but do not necessarily modify their teaching behaviours accordingly (c.f. the American teacher’s comment: “It’s possible that one of my biggest faults is that I speak English too well”). These differences also need to be addressed and discussed at the institutional level by administrators so that teachers are not expected to replicate *stricto sensu* the same course in English and in French.

During my fieldwork, I found that each EMI class is different in a number of ways. The EMI classroom dynamics change according to the teachers’ and students’ linguistic background,¹⁰⁵ the number of students present in the classroom, the student composition (international or local students), the level of study, the subject of study, the type of class, the selection process and whether or not the programme is entirely in English (see Table 15 below). For example, a first year chemistry class taught by a French teacher in front of an amphitheatre of 50 French students will necessarily be completely different to a Master’s level biology class composed of 6 international students taught by a German teacher. I argue that there is a lack of awareness (or at least reflection) about all the different possible EMI configurations and how the aforementioned factors can influence the EMI classroom. The context-dependent nature of EMI means it is difficult to impose a one-size-fits-all EMI framework as too many variables come into play. What may be suitable for one class may not be for

¹⁰⁴ Pragmatic strategies include repetition, signalling importance etc.

¹⁰⁵ I include in this category: first/main language, proficiency in English and prior experience of teaching/learning in English.

another. In short, decisions concerning EMI need to be given more thought and consideration.

Variables	Data collected during fieldwork
Teacher's first/main language	English, French, German, Italian.
Students' first/main language	Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Hindi, Italian, Kazakh, Malay, Nepali, Russian, Spanish, Turkish, Urdu.
Number of students in the classroom	From 7 to 45.
Student composition (international students, local students etc.)	Only French; Only international; French and international students.
Level of study	From 1 st year (L1) to 5 th year (M2).
Subject	Chemistry, Biology, Statistics, Engineering.
Type of class (seminar, lecture, lab etc.)	Seminar and lecture.
Selection process or entry requirements	Some programmes are selective, some are not.
Percentage of programme in English	50-100%

Table 15. Variables affecting the EMI classroom

9.4 Parallel policy processes

After having spent over three years analysing EMI policy documents, parliamentary debates, interviews and classroom observations, it is clear that EMI is an extremely complex and multifaceted concept. It takes on significantly different meanings depending on each person and the context. I started out the study with the following straightforward definition of EMI:

The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English. (Dearden 2014)

While this *literal* definition of EMI does not seem to be at all controversial, close analysis reveals diverging interpretations/representations. My research focused on three contexts of policy activity: national, institutional and (inter)personal. At the Parliament level, EMI is much more than just “teaching in English”, the language question serves as a pretext for an ideological and political struggle. When politicians position themselves for or against Article 2, they are in fact accepting or rejecting a certain worldview. At the institutional level, administrators view EMI as a way of taking part in the hyper-competitive higher education environment. Science teachers relate EMI to their own respective disciplinary fields and perceive it as a way of connecting to the international community of science. Although this is somewhat of a

generalisation, the point is that different stakeholders interpret EMI in various or even contradictory ways.

EMI ideology operates across all policy levels but in distinct ways. Whereas EMI is widely accepted and unquestioned within the UJF, it is subjected to considerable political (and media) scrutiny at the national level. In other words, EMI has become “total” within the university context while it remains “particular” at the national level. On the one hand, EMI is viewed as a potentially totalising phenomenon in the political sphere which is why politicians engage in a heated debate. On the other hand, at the local level EMI is not seen as a problem. What this means is that within the university context, EMI has become a common and established practice; the totalising effect which some MPs were worried about seems to already have taken place at the UJF.

Because EMI is understood in different ways, there is a mismatch between political rhetoric and local aspirations. Indeed, there is a discrepancy between the ideological debate at the parliamentary level and individual day-to-day lived experiences. Stakeholders engage in different levels of ideology in different policy contexts. Certain topics discussed in the political sphere do not directly resonate with local EMI teachers. Political discussions can thus often be perceived as completely at odds with the on-the-ground realities of universities. Indeed, the political and often philosophical debates about language may appear rather unhelpful in addressing the “real” challenges faced by French universities. As a result, the national and local agendas seem to be in conflict or at least misaligned. While politicians spend time debating the potential impact of EMI on “Francophonie”, university faculty and staff have other and more pressing issues to deal with.

At the same time, the policy contexts are not completely disconnected from each other either. The discourse on “attractiveness”, for example, does feature across all policy layers, yet I contend that this does not necessarily reflect connections between policy and practice as such. Even though certain discursive elements identified in political discourse recur in other contexts, the process of recontextualisation involves transformation. Hence intertextual chains may highlight how hegemonic discourses operate throughout policy layers, however, they do not tell us how EMI is understood in distinctive ways. While the broader socio-political and historical context may partly

explain why EMI is recontextualised in particular ways in France, it is also necessary to consider the specific “context of situation” (that is the Université Joseph Fourier).

In short, what seems to be of paramount importance is the situated “new” context in which the policy is understood. Every time Article 2 is de-contextualised and then re-contextualised in a new setting, it takes on a new meaning. When local participants make sense of EMI, they draw on the beliefs, ideologies and discourses circulating within their own immediate environment. Since EMI is perceived as normal and part of the daily academic routine in the sciences at the UJF, then it is not subject to contestation. I argue that teachers and administrators draw upon “total” ideologies that are present in the university context to interpret and appropriate Article 2. These ideologies echo more global discourses about English as the predominant language in academia and the sciences. The policy texts and discourses at the political and national level are thus trumped by dominant language ideologies which are present in the local context. In other words, the discourses within Parliament are not powerful enough to dislodge or overcome the “total” ideologies which characterise the university domain. It seems that wider circulating beliefs about English take precedence over certain national language policy objectives. As a result, Article 2 is interpreted differently in each policy context. Despite existing intertextual relationships, Article 2 is played out in various ways across “onion” layers. This is not to say that there is a gap between policy and practice, rather there are parallel policy processes.

As stated in section 3.3, one of the main challenges in the field of LPP is how to make explicit connections between language policy texts, discourses and classroom practices across multiple layers of language policy activity. The problem with trying to relate language behaviours to official language policy texts is that unless a teacher explicitly states that s/he is interpreting and appropriating a specific language policy, then there is no way of knowing that practice is influenced by policy (Hornberger and Johnson 2011: 284). Hence, it is not because my participants talk about “attractiveness” or “international openness” that this necessarily reflects Article 2. As discussed in chapter 8, such expressions and buzzwords are found in policy contexts outside of France and are not specific to Article 2.

Intertextual chains may help uncover embedded ideologies or determine where certain expressions originated from but they do not establish a direct relationship between

Article 2 and local enactment. In fact, it is impossible to ascertain that what goes on in classrooms is a result of language policy. Similarly, unless participants are directly asked about Article 2, it is difficult to speak about local policy interpretations. Official language policy is only directly commented on by two teachers in this study during the interviews. Béatrice states that she finds it “completely stupid” to have to ask the Ministry of Education for permission to teach in English. She perceives national language policy as constraining and limiting. However, it is unclear whether she is referring to the 1994 Toubon Law or Article 2. In another interview, Philippe explicitly comments on the long list of “conditions” imposed by the Fioraso Law. He believes that the Ministry may try to curtail bottom-up attempts to create more EMI programmes. Article 2 is thus viewed as restrictive and is interpreted as an *extension* of the Toubon Law (which protects French language) rather than as providing *exemptions* from it (even though it is clear that Minister Fioraso’s intention was to facilitate EMI in French universities, not to limit it). However, these are the only two instances where teachers explicitly refer to official language policy. This is why it is useful to combine discourse-analytic tools with ethnographic methods. While CDA illuminates the connections with wider circulating discourses, the “ethnography” reveals how policy actors engage with Article 2 (and EMI more generally).

My study has shed light on the processes of policy recontextualisation and the relationship (or lack of relationship) between policy layers. The aim of the research was to study the policy trajectory of Article 2. What emerges is that Article 2 does not travel through layers in a linear top-down fashion until it reaches the classroom (i.e. the centre of the onion), rather each policy context (or onion layer) involves parallel processes of creation, interpretation and appropriation. The bill does not move through policy layers as such but rather undergoes a series of parallel developments. Once a policy has been put in motion it is recontextualised in different contexts, to varying degrees and at different paces. While EMI is caught up in a hegemonic struggle in the political domain, EMI courses can readily continue to proliferate locally as EMI is already part of the university linguistic ecology. I have argued that this is because the discourse on EMI is far more stable and uncontested locally than nationally. The competing discourses in the political arena, on the other hand, signify that the process of naturalisation is much slower. I view EMI as a form of two-speed policy process where local *de facto* policies move faster than national *de jure* policies. Local practices

sometimes precede national language policy. Indeed, there were EMI programmes at the UJF prior to the Fioraso Law. This shows how policy texts do not “enter a social or institutional vacuum” (Ball 1993: 11). Article 2 exists alongside past and present texts, competing discourses and other (in)formal documents. Hence the metaphor of the “onion” is useful if we conceptualise each onion layer as being granted a certain autonomy in terms of direction and speed.

On the one hand, the formal legislative policy process operates on a clear time-space scale in that the bill was presented and voted on specific dates and the process of policy formation is enshrined in a strict political and legal framework (i.e. the bill gets proposed, drafted, modified, debated etc. in specific locations and according to precise a timeframe). As a result, it is fairly easy to trace the movement of policy discourses within the official political domain.

On the other hand, the informal discursive process in the public domain is far more diffuse since anyone, anywhere and at any time can engage with Article 2 (and EMI). Not only is the EMI debate discussed by policy “makers” and by those for which the policy is intended (i.e. the policy “implementers”), it is also seized by the media which results in the escalation and de-escalation of certain discourses around EMI. Discourses do not travel as such from one “layer” to the next but rather get magnified or reduced in different contexts and at different speeds. The level of magnification partly depends on the number of people who engage with a topic at any one point, and just as importantly, who they are. Some discourses may get magnified if they are taken up across various sections of society while other discourses may resonate only amongst policy-makers (e.g. discussions about wording of legal documents). Indeed, at times only a few policy-makers in Parliament may be discussing an issue, at other times certain discourse topics may be picked up by the media and therefore reach a large population. As a result different discourses are present over small and large physical spaces. Some persist over time and others are ephemeral. The informal non-political dimension of policy is messy and much more difficult to capture as there is no clear time-space scale. The formal legislative process and the non-formal discursive process thus progress together, at the same time, but operate in different ways. By identifying the implicit and explicit instances of intertextuality it is possible to map out the trajectory of certain discourses and show how scales intersect.

The way in which Article 2 has been taken up and appropriated by various policy actors across the public domain perfectly illustrates what Ball (1993) calls the policy trajectory. This study has shown how policy texts undergo processes of transformation. As Article 2 travels across policy levels, it is continually (re)interpreted and (re)enacted. Policies may therefore have unintended consequences yet policy processes can be examined, analytically speaking. Even though this study reveals that policy is to some extent messy, haphazard and ad hoc (Ball 1993; Cooper 1989), it also exposes how language policies play out in different contexts. Policies are not completely unstable and incoherent in the sense that they can be analysed, observed and partly understood. Indeed, the dynamics of policy can be captured through a multi-layered and multi-sited analysis which attends to the particular characteristics and sensitivities of each policy layer. Hence it is possible to trace the ways in which policies and discourses evolve and change through space and time.

The “ethnography” of Article 2 has thus revealed what happens in different policy layers and has provided empirical insight into the understanding of policy controversies. Only a fine-grained and context-sensitive account can show how contestation and consent take place. The ethnographic approach is particularly useful in showing how a single policy initiative is appropriated in different ways across different domains. No general theory can explain why certain policies are accepted and others contested as this is an empirical and historical issue. That is, there is no theoretical explanation as to why policies are received and implemented in distinct ways across various settings. Had this study been conducted in another European country for example, the policy trajectory might have been entirely different.

9.5 Summary

This chapter has illustrated how and why Article 2 takes on significantly different meanings in various policy contexts. What has emerged is that EMI is thought of and discussed in distinct ways throughout French civil society. Whereas it has become naturalised and taken for granted in the university context, it is still largely contested at the national level. On the one hand, the use of English is considered to be part of everyday discourse in the university environment. Conversely, when EMI is discussed in the political sphere, it immediately stands out as an alien element within that discourse. The reason why EMI is such a sensitive topic at the national level is that it

symbolises much more than just courses in English. In fact, the instrumentalisation of EMI for political purposes shows how EMI does not have much to do with university education. The fact that EMI is accepted in the university and is highly contentious in the political domain reveals how the same idea can be “particular” in one place and “total” in another. Even though discursive relationships across policy layers may exist, this does not necessarily mean that policy layers interact or connect as such. I have shown how policy enactment involves multiple parallel policy trajectories. As a result, national and local discourses are often completely at odds.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The aim of the study was to provide insight into the EMI phenomenon in France. I used Article 2 of the Fioraso Law as the starting point of my research and set out to explore how the policy has been interpreted and enacted within a specific university setting. The objective was to establish connections between policy documents, local interpretations and classroom practices. My research questions were thus organised to capture how policy moves through different levels. Listed below are research question 1, which dealt with *official* language policy documents (and surrounding discourses), research question 2, which focused on *local* policy actors' beliefs about EMI and finally, research question 3, which looked at what goes on in the EMI classroom:

RQ1. How is Article 2 discursively (co-)constructed and what ideologies does it draw on?

RQ2. How do local policy actors understand and interpret EMI?

RQ3. How do the local policy actors enact EMI?

In order to answer these questions I decided to take an ethnographic approach to language policy (Johnson 2013a). Applying a language policy framework to the study of EMI enabled me to analyse EMI as a policy process. Since each research question addresses three separate policy contexts, three main data sets were selected. My data consisted of official language policy texts, parliamentary debate transcripts, interviews and classroom observation. In terms of methodology, I combined ethnographic methods and discourse-analytic tools so as to understand how policy “on paper” gets recontextualised “on the ground”. I found that actors at different levels make sense of EMI in very different ways. As a result, even though there are significant intertextual and interdiscursive connections across policy contexts, there is a mismatch between national level language policy discourse and local enactment.

10.2 Contribution to knowledge

Overall this thesis makes a contribution to knowledge in two main areas, notably the fields of LPP and EMI. In terms of research into LPP, the findings contribute to our understanding of language policy as a multi-layered process. My study has provided empirical insight into the language policy process and shown how Article 2 is played

out across different levels. More specifically, the “ethnography of language policy” has revealed how certain ideas are taken up more readily than others in various policy layers. Methodologically speaking, the study has demonstrated the value of studying language policy texts not as politico-linguistic objects but as products of human interaction and negotiation. Simply analysing official written documents does not reveal how individual actors make sense of policy in diverse ways. Most scholars discussing language policy in France have focused solely on official written legal documents. By showing how policy actors, at all levels, engage with language policy, my research provides a more comprehensive picture of French language policy and challenges popular linguistic accounts of how the French supposedly protect their language at all costs.

My study also contributes to the on-going exploration of EMI. This research is timely because the introduction of courses in English in French universities is a comparatively recent phenomenon. By investigating an under-researched context, my study fills in a gap in the literature on EMI. The French outlook on EMI adds to the different facets of the “Englishisation” of higher education in Europe. The spread of EMI has mostly been explored in contexts where the use of English is widespread and the national language is not widely taught elsewhere as a Modern Language. By exploring EMI in a country where the national language enjoys strong vitality and international status, my study provides an original contribution to the field. Furthermore, France’s unique language policy history makes it a particularly intriguing case to study.

Finally, by applying an LPP framework to the study of EMI, my study offers a different way of exploring and understanding the spread of EMI. The “ethnography of language policy” is particularly useful in illustrating how EMI is enacted in different ways across various policy contexts. Unlike other studies which usually focus on one policy layer (e.g. the classroom), the multi-sited approach to EMI reveals how it takes on significantly different meanings in diverse locations. By taking a more holistic approach, I have addressed other facets of EMI (the ideological, the political, the discursive), thus broadening the scope of our understanding of EMI.

10.3 Limitations

One of the main challenges of this study was working with data from multiple sites. By choosing to conduct a multi-layered analysis of language policy which examines three different policy contexts, I was running the risk of having too broad a focus. My aim was to provide a holistic picture of Article 2, from its conception to its enactment in the classroom whilst still producing a rich description. A possible criticism could be that I could have gone into more depth had I chosen to focus on a single policy layer. However, the aim was not to conduct a micro-ethnographic discourse analysis of one policy context but rather to capture the “bigger picture” and show how policy processes operate not only within but across policy levels. A multi-sited data collection was thus appropriate for the research questions I set out to answer.

It could be argued then that my small sample of interviewees and short time spent observing EMI classrooms are insufficient for me to illustrate how policy contexts relate as a whole. Firstly, the aim was not to seek comprehensive coverage of each policy layer but to show how policy enactment involves complex processes of recontextualisation. I do not claim to have studied the “onion” in its entirety. While interviewing more teachers would undoubtedly have added to the richness of the data, as a single researcher, I had to limit the number of participants. Moreover, one could say that my sample is in itself biased since the teachers had already agreed to deliver courses in English which means that they were necessarily more inclined to view EMI in positive terms. Perhaps if I had interviewed teachers who had refused to teach in English I would not have been able to conclude that EMI is largely uncontested in the UJF context. However, the aim was not so much to study all teachers’ attitudes towards EMI but rather to understand how local actors make sense of EMI.

It would certainly have been useful to spend more time observing EMI lessons to get more exposure to “EMI in action”. Some might argue that my visits were too short to qualify as an “ethnographic perspective”. Apart from one teacher (Carl), I did not have the opportunity to observe teachers more than once. Furthermore, I visited EMI classrooms from October 2015 to November 2015 which means that some courses were only 6 weeks into the first semester. If I had observed lessons towards the end of year, during the second semester, it is possible that students would have been more familiar and at ease with EMI. Hence I might have witnessed more participation and

classroom interaction. However, I believe that the internal validity of my study was not affected as most students had already had some exposure to courses in English and I was still able to spend around 14 hours observing EMI classes.

In terms of the external validity of my study, I do not suggest that my participants' views are representative of all EMI teachers. Nor do I claim that the EMI classes which I observed are "typical". My study is not meant to reflect a wider population, but rather provides a snapshot of EMI within a French university. However, I believe that my research does contribute to our overall understanding of EMI and that my findings apply more broadly. Chapter 9 highlighted a certain degree of congruence with prior research, which allows for comparability and transferability. Despite the local particularities of my research, there are some undeniable general commonalities which exist across situated contexts.

10.4 Future research directions

I would have liked to conduct interviews and/or focus groups with the students. My study could be criticised for giving an incomplete picture of policy processes since EMI courses are aimed at students and their voices are largely missing from my study. Due to time constraints and limited funding, I had to make selective decisions about participants. I was only able to have informal conversations with students during my fieldwork. I have tried, as much as possible, to include some of the exchanges I had with them in order to provide some insight into their perspectives. These are insufficient, mostly anecdotal and more research is needed on how students interpret and appropriate EMI.

Since I had to limit the scope of my research, there are a number of policy contexts which I did not explore. Notably, I would have liked to analyse in more depth the media portrayal of Article 2 (and EMI more generally). I briefly touch upon the role of the media in the thesis but mostly use press articles as interpretative resources rather than as a main data set. During my analysis, I noticed that the media had undoubtedly influenced the parliamentary debates and the drafting process of the bill. However, I did not pursue this finding as this would have brought into the study an entirely new data set. The impact of the media on the policy making process is an under-researched field which is worth further investigation.

The area of policy creation is, on the whole, overlooked by researchers. Often, policy texts are treated as decontextualised objects when in fact they are the result of human actions. In terms of how Article 2 was arrived at, I limited my data to parliamentary debates and drafts of the bill but the process of policy creation started almost a year before with national and regional consultation phases which involved 20,000 local stakeholders (I mention this briefly in chapter 2). It would have been interesting to look at how hundreds of hours of meetings across France, numerous reports and local debates eventually resulted in a first draft of the proposal. My research did not cover these preliminary bottom-up steps which preceded the parliamentary debates but analysis of this phase would provide further understanding of the entire policy cycle.

Overall, EMI in French higher education remains largely unexplored territory. As mentioned earlier, my study only provides a snapshot of the EMI phenomenon in France. Hence more studies in this context would be welcome. More generally, I believe that the field of EMI could profit from studies which explore EMI in other geographical locations. For the time being, the vast majority of the research on EMI has taken place in Nordic contexts. Conducting research in diverse socio-political settings will continue to shed light on the spread of EMI across Europe. While most universities share similar goals (such as improving the institution's international profile or attracting international students), the context-specific variables mean that EMI takes place in very different ways across different settings.

Finally, the field would benefit from more multi-layered and multi-faceted analyses not just because they offer a different approach to the study of EMI but also because they enable the researcher to take a more critical stance towards EMI. Too many studies report attitudes towards EMI without ever commenting on them. As I have shown in my study, EMI is highly political and ideological, no matter how normalised it has become. Future research should address the latent ideologies underpinning EMI or at least question where certain beliefs come from by situating EMI in a wider socio-political and historical context, otherwise they may end up inadvertently reproducing dominant discourses.

10.5 Final remarks

When I started out my research in 2013, the university under study offered 4 international undergraduate programmes and 11 international Master's programmes.

By 2015, the number of Master's programmes had risen to 17. Since then, the UJF has merged with two other universities in Grenoble to form “une université unique à fort rayonnement international” (“*a unique university with strong international rayonnement*”). The current university is now known as “Université Grenoble Alpes” (or UGA). The number of Master's programmes taught (entirely or partly) in English at the UGA in the field of sciences, health and technology (i.e. what the UJF previously specialised in) is now 56. In other words, the number of EMI Master's programmes has risen by approximately 400% in 4 years. This represents around 40% of the total number of Master's programmes on offer at the UGA (in the field of sciences, health and technology). With regards to the undergraduate level, there are currently 10 international programmes on offer. The focus has clearly been on developing EMI at the Master's level.

As the number of programmes taught in English continues to expand, researchers can hardly keep up. While my study provides some interesting insights into the EMI phenomenon in France, such research needs to be constantly updated. As scholars, we must acknowledge that the linguistic ecologies of universities are evolving at a faster rate than any single study can match. This is perhaps one of the greatest challenges for the field of EMI. At the same time, it is an extremely fast growing and exciting area of research to be in. In the foreseeable future, while we may find that the number of EMI courses levels off across Europe, it is unlikely there will be any language policy reversal.

APPENDICES



University of London

Research Ethics Office
King's College London
Rm 5.2 FWB (Waterloo Bridge Wing)
Stamford Street
London
SE1 9NH

10 July 2014

TO: Marianne Blattès

SUBJECT: Approval of ethics application

Dear Marianne,

REP/13/14-120 - English medium instruction in French universities: conflicting ideologies, policies and practices

I am pleased to inform you that full approval for your project has been granted by the **E&M** Research Ethics Panel. Any specific conditions of approval are laid out at the end of this letter which should be followed in addition to the standard terms and conditions of approval, to be overseen by your Supervisor:

Ethical approval is granted for a period of **a year** from **10/07/2014**. You will not receive a reminder that your approval is about to lapse so it is your responsibility to apply for an extension prior to the project lapsing if you need one (see below for instructions).

You should report any untoward events or unforeseen ethical problems arising from the project to the panel Chairman within a week of the occurrence. Information about the panel may be accessed at:

<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/committees/sshl/rep/index.aspx>

If you wish to change your project or request an extension of approval, please complete the Modification Proforma. A signed hard copy of this should be submitted to the Research Ethics Office, along with an electronic version to crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk. Please be sure to quote your low risk reference number on all correspondence. Details of how to fill a modification request can be found at:

<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx>

All research should be conducted in accordance with the King's College London *Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research* available at:

<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/iop/research/office/help/Assets/good20practice20Sept200920FINAL.pdf>

If you require signed confirmation of your approval please email crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk indicating why it is required and the address you would like it to be sent to.

Please would you also note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you from time to time to ascertain the status of your research.

We wish you every success with this work.

With best wishes

Rosie Pearson – Research Support Assistant

On behalf of

E&M REP Reviewer

APPROVED/
Primary Comments:
Generally very thorough and unproblematic. Please ensure that a copy of the agreement of the president/vice-chancellor is made available on request from the research ethics office. During your observation you have sought individual consent to audio-record, but have not addressed arrangements for those who object. Please discuss with your supervisor how to meet the wishes of those who do not wish to be recorded. We would suggest that where some students have not submitted consent forms the session is not audio-recorded so that data is only collected from those who agree to participate.
Further Amendments to Application (please identify the relevant section number before each comment):
Amendments to Information Sheet and Consent Form:

Interview guidelines with teachers

Opening factual questions

General questions about the programme:

Can you tell me a bit about the programme you teach on?

How much of the programme is in English?

Who attends this programme (French students, international students etc.)?

How long have you been teaching in English? (At what level? i.e. undergraduate or postgraduate)

Teacher/student proficiency

In your opinion what level of English is required for students to follow this course?

In your opinion what level of English is needed to teach in English?

What are the admission requirements for this programme?

Impact of EMI on academic content

Do you find a difference between teaching in French and in English?

In your opinion does EMI affect the academic/disciplinary content?

Teaching experience of EMI

What are the main difficulties or challenges you have faced when teaching in English?

Do you speak in English to the students? Do students speak to you in English?

In what language(s) are the students assessed?

What language(s) are the course materials in?

Do you ever discuss language issues during the class?

Reasons for EMI

What do you think are the main reasons for introducing courses in English at the UJF?

In your opinion should more courses be offered in English?

Do you think other (foreign) languages should be used as a medium of instruction?

Final comments or questions

Is there anything you would like to add?

Interview guidelines with senior administrators

1. What are the main reasons for introducing EMI at the UJF?
2. What is meant by an “international programme”? Are all programmes taught in English “international”?
3. Does the university have a clear language policy?
4. In your opinion what level of English required for students to follow a course in English?
5. In your opinion does EMI affect the academic content? (the quality or accuracy of the content)
6. What are the main difficulties or challenges of teaching in English?
7. So far EMI has been prevalent in graduate courses and not so much at undergraduate level. Will it continue expanding in undergraduate courses? What are your views on this?



Grenoble, le 2 mai 2015

Madame la Ministre,
Madame la Députée,

Je suis une doctorante à King's College London. J'étudie la politique linguistique et plus spécifiquement les programmes en anglais. Je cherche à savoir dans quelle mesure les cours en anglais permettent de diversifier le recrutement des étudiants internationaux et de renforcer l'attractivité des formations françaises.

Je fais une étude de cas de l'Université Joseph Fourier Grenoble et je me concentre tout particulièrement sur l'enseignement des matières scientifiques. Mon but est d'exposer les défis principaux auxquels l'université fait face mais également de recueillir les expériences des professeurs et des étudiants concernés. Mon travail se veut une contribution à l'étude des enjeux linguistiques des formations ouvertes à l'international.

Ayant obtenu l'accord du Président [REDACTED], j'ai déjà commencé à interviewer les acteurs principaux de l'UJF (responsables de programmes, directeurs de laboratoire etc.). Le point de départ de mes problématiques étant les discussions engendrées par l'article 2 de la loi ESR de 2013 je vous serais extrêmement reconnaissante si vous pouviez m'accorder une vingtaine de minutes pour un entretien. En tant qu'ancienne Ministre de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche votre témoignage aurait une grande importance pour mon projet de recherche. En outre votre connaissance approfondie du pôle universitaire et scientifique grenoblois est particulièrement pertinent pour mon étude de cas.

Je me tiens à votre entière disposition pour toute question. Je vous joins par ailleurs mon CV.

Veuillez agréer, Madame la Ministre, l'expression de ma haute considération.

Marianne Blattès

Coordonnées:

Marianne Blattès, Tel: + 33 (0)4 38 37 04 83, Email: marianne.blattes@kcl.ac.uk

Coordonnées directeur de thèse:

Constant Leung, Tel: + 44 (0)20 7848 3713, Email: constant.leung@kcl.ac.uk

Professor of Educational Linguistics, Deputy Head of Department

Department of Education and Professional Studies, King's College London, Waterloo Bridge Wing

Franklin-Wilkins Building, Waterloo Road, London SE1 9NH, United Kingdom.

Meeting with Minister Fioraso

Wed 06/05/2015, 10:40

Blattes, Marianne ✉

Inbox

Madame Blattes,

Suite à votre demande de rendez-vous avec La Députée FIORASO, je vous propose de la rencontrer lundi 18 mai à 15h30. Cette rencontre se tiendra à sa permanence parlementaire 7 rue Voltaire à Grenoble.
Je vous remercie par avance de bien vouloir me confirmer votre disponibilité.
Cordialement

Attaché(e) parlementaire de Geneviève FIORASO

Ancienne ministre, députée de la première circonscription de l'Isère

7, rue Voltaire - 38000 Grenoble

Tél. : 04 76 42 01 39

Fax : 04 76 42 24 59

www.genevieve-fioraso.com

Stuctured interview questions with Minister Fioraso

- Je sais que cette loi est l'aboutissement de longues périodes de concertation. Finalement comment en est-on arrivé à cet article 2 et aux discussions sur les cours en langues étrangères ?
- Un des objectifs de l'article 2 est de renforcer la formation des étudiants aux carrières internationales. Pour vous, quelle est la place ou le rôle de l'anglais aujourd'hui dans l'insertion professionnelle et l'emploi ?
- L'article a suscité de nombreuses réactions et controverses. L'article a été critiqué par des intellectuels et linguistes. Les uns expriment leurs réticences vis-à-vis de la qualité des transmissions des connaissances, d'autres expliquent qu'on est en France donc l'enseignement devrait se faire en français. Que leur répondez-vous ?
- Certains professeurs en revanche estiment que ces mesures ne vont pas assez loin et jugent que les décisions de délivrer des formations en anglais devraient pouvoir se prendre dans chaque université. Pourquoi selon vous faut-il avoir une politique linguistique au niveau de l'état?
- Dans votre projet de loi sur l'ESR un des objectifs indiqués est la démocratisation de l'accès à l'enseignement supérieur. Autoriser les cursus en anglais deviendrait un moyen de réduire l'écart entre les grandes écoles et les universités françaises mais le profil typique d'étudiants optant pour ces filières semble être des étudiants qui ont déjà un profil international, certains sortant de lycées internationaux ou ayant étudié dans des pays anglophones. De ce fait, les cours en anglais ne risquent-ils pas d'aggraver la sélection sociale et ainsi de renforcer les inégalités sociales?
- Des responsables de programmes internationaux en anglais m'ont fait part du succès de ces formations qui leur ont permis d'attirer de bons étudiants venant du monde entier. Par contre ils ont exprimé leurs inquiétudes vis-à-vis des étudiants francophones. Alors que les étudiants francophones venant d'Afrique ont complètement disparu de certains masters, il semble qu'il y aurait également de moins en moins d'étudiants français qui s'inscrivent dans ces programmes. Si des programmes basculent en anglais n'y a-t-il pas un risque de marginaliser les étudiants francophones ?
- Dans la version finale de la loi, il est écrit que les formations d'enseignement supérieur ne peuvent-être que partiellement proposées en langue étrangère. Qu'entendez-vous par « partiellement » ?
- Une partie de votre loi a été centrée autour du thème sur l'ouverture à l'international et l'attractivité de l'enseignement supérieur français à l'étranger. Mis à part les intérêts géopolitiques et économiques quels seraient les autres avantages d'attirer des étudiants venant de pays émergents ?
- Certains professeurs m'ont dit qu'ils pensent que dans quelques années tous les masters seront en anglais. Une responsable de la faculté de médecine à Grenoble souhaite faire basculer plus de 50% des enseignements facultaires en anglais. Quelle est votre vision d'avenir pour l'enseignement supérieur en France en ce qui concerne les langues d'enseignement ?

Sample of interview transcript with Stéphanie

Date: 12/05/2015

Time: 9.30 am

Location: LEGI, Bâtiment ENSE3, Bergès K.

- 1 MB: Donc j'ai vu que vous dirigez le Master de "Environmental Fluid Mechanics"?
- 2 S: Oui.
- 3 MB: C'est ça, en M2...Est-ce que vous pouvez me parler un petit plus... Ah! Je vous
4 ai pas proposé. Vous préférez le faire en anglais ou en français?
- 5 S: On peut le faire en français.
- 6 MB: D'accord. Mmmm...Est-ce que vous pouvez me parler un petit plus de ce
7 programme, pourquoi il a été mis en place, quelles sont les raisons pour lesquelles il a
8 été créé, etc.?
- 9 S: Ok. Alors il y a peut-être 15-20 ans, quelque chose comme ça, il y avait un master
10 qui s'appelait MMGE, mécanique des milieux géophysiques et environnement, dans
11 lequel il y avait un enseignement de mécanique des fluides plutôt théorique avec une
12 base de physique et de mathématique en fait, de formalisation, une base théorique
13 solide, et puis "for some reason" dirais-je alors, bon j'étais pas là à ce moment-là, ce
14 master a disparu et en fait il a été reformulé en un master qui s'appelle "eau climat,
15 environnement", ça couvre tout, euh...et qui se trouve à LOSUG, c'est l'observatoire
16 de sciences de l'univers de Grenoble et se faisant il est devenu beaucoup plus qualitatif
17 en fait [...] Alors...et donc quand je suis arrivée, moi je suis arrivée ici il y a
18 longtemps, mais je me suis dit qu'il serait bien de remettre en place un master plus
19 théorique comme ce que l'on faisait dans le master MMGE, et la motivation principale
20 est d'attirer, enfin d'avoir un vivier de bons étudiants pour faire de la...une thèse dans
21 nos labos, c'est vraiment le point, comment avoir de bons étudiants pour faire des
22 thèses dans nos laboratoires, après les étudiants vont dans l'industrie, font de la
23 recherche, restent ici, restent pas ici, ça c'est pas notre affaire hein, on les aide autant
24 que possible bien évidemment et c'est mon rôle en tant que responsable de M2,
25 pour...voilà...mais la raison principale elle est là en fait. Alors en fait j'ai mis
26 longtemps parce que je suis arrivée ici en 97, j'ai eu mon poste de professeur en 97,
27 j'ai mis longtemps avant de monter ce master parce que... Ça c'est des questions que
28 vous allez me poser, parce que le l'université, surtout à l'époque en 2009, était
29 balbutiante au niveau de la mise en place de masters internationaux. Y'avait alors je
30 dirais pas tant la culture, parce que dans les laboratoires de recherche on travaille tous
31 à l'international si on travaille à un bon niveau, qu'au niveau administration, et c'est
32 encore le cas aujourd'hui, c'est une administration qui est faite pour les étudiants
33 français et il y a au niveau de l'administration, des personnes de très bonne volonté
34 mais qui sont complètement franco-françaises [...] Et donc on pourra en parler tout à
35 l'heure mais j'ai rencontré un tas de difficultés en fait pour aller monter ce master-là,
36 international. Et justement je pense que les universités françaises, me semble-t-il, ont
37 beaucoup de retard par rapport aux écoles d'ingénieurs, par exemple, au niveau des
38 écoles d'ingénieurs, il y a une tradition d'envoyer des étudiants étrangers à
39 l'international, il y a des réseaux entre universités qui existent et il y a une logistique
40 surtout, c'est ça qui nous manque. Il y a une logistique qui facilite les échanges en

41 question. Voilà donc je pourrais développer les difficultés rencontrées etc. mais là j'ai
42 répondu à votre question de motivation, c'est avoir des étudiants étrangers dans nos
43 laboratoires.

44 MB: D'accord. Vous avez dit, attirer de bons étudiants, donc qui sont ces bons
45 étudiants? Ce qui les attire c'est le fait que ce soit en anglais alors ou...

46 S: Alors moi j'ai encore pas assez de recul pour ça et je dirais même que je suis partie
47 de manière innocente, un peu naïve, c'est-à-dire que je suis partie "from scratch"
48 (quand je parle anglais je parle avec un meilleur accent hein) donc je suis partie à partir
49 de rien. Mes collègues qui ont monté des masters internationaux, c'est le cas de
50 Monsieur [name] par exemple, avait déjà un réseau de collègues et qui se réunissaient
51 régulièrement à l'international etc. sur lequel il s'est basé, ce qui à mon avis est ce qu'il
52 faut faire. Donc je suis partie de rien... Alors pour l'instant j'ai envie de dire j'ai pas
53 vraiment de réseau... Alors je commence à en avoir un. Il y a par exemple chaque
54 année des étudiantes de l'université de Novossibirsk en Sibérie qui viennent. Et la
55 raison de cela c'est qu'on a des contacts avec la responsable des relations
56 internationales de l'université de Novossibirsk, qui est une dame française d'ailleurs,
57 Madame [name]. Voilà...donc chaque année il y a des étudiantes, il y a une année où
58 il y a eu 3 étudiantes, cette année y'en a une, l'année prochaine y'en aura une etc. mais
59 sinon, sinon c'est la pêche à la ligne et ça c'est extrêmement difficile en fait, c'est
60 extrêmement difficile parce qu'on ne sait jamais sur qui on va tomber et quel va être
61 le niveau au contraire des réseaux des écoles d'ingénieurs, voilà. Donc je commence à
62 savoir... Alors l'université Joseph Fourier avec l'expérience internationale qu'elle
63 commence à avoir sait aussi ce qui est bien et pas bien, les Chinois a moins de 15 de
64 moyenne les gens sont nuls par exemple, les gens surnotent. A l'université de Téhéran
65 par exemple en Iran, c'est la meilleure université, les étudiants qui viennent de
66 "mechanical engineering" de l'université de Téhéran sont de remarquables étudiants.
67 On a eu un étudiant il y a deux ans qui est arrivé majeur de promotion et j'ai ensuite
68 soutenu pour faire une thèse à Lyon etc. On a pris deux années de suite, y compris
69 cette année, des étudiants du Bangladesh, même le meilleur d'entre eux a beaucoup de
70 difficultés. Il valide à 11 de moyenne mais il peut pas faire de thèse après. Voilà, donc
71 ceci nous a conduit à partir de 2016 à mettre en place un M1 international qui va
72 alimenter le master de Monsieur [name] et mon master etc. de façon à ce que les
73 étudiants qui sont un petit peu justes en mécanique des fluides, on puisse justement
74 leur proposer ce M1 puis ensuite s'ils le souhaitent nos fameux M2.

75 MB: Quel est ce public en général de ce M2 que vous dirigez? Ils sont tous
76 internationaux ou...y a-t-il des français?

77 S: Alors ça c'est une très bonne remarque. Il y a eu une année où il y avait pas un seul
78 étudiant français. Cette année ils sont deux plus une étudiante allemande qui a fait son
79 master à l'UJF, donc qui est tout à fait francophone et francophile. L'année prochaine
80 je peux être sûre que sur la quinzaine d'étudiants il y a un étudiant français donc ils
81 sont [#peu] en fait. [...] Ce que je peux simplement dire c'est qu'il y a très peu
82 d'étudiants français qui viennent de Grenoble. Par contre c'est une opportunité
83 extraordinaire pour les étudiants français. Ils réussissent tous très bien parce que
84 d'abord ils ont des cours en anglais, ils sont en contact avec un public très international
85 qui va de l'Amérique du Sud au Bangladesh, il y a quelques étudiants européens, je
86 vous ai parlé d'étudiants russes...d'Afrique du Sud, d'Inde, c'est vraiment, c'est un
87 melting pot je dirais merveilleux en fait, et en plus ces étudiants français ont

88 l'obligation, je les oblige à faire un stage à l'étranger de 5 mois, donc ils partent...
89 Alors les stages à l'étranger dépendent évidemment de mes relations recherche donc
90 ils peuvent partir en Australie, aux États-Unis, ils peuvent partir en Finlande voilà,
91 donc tous les étudiants français font un stage à l'étranger forcément en anglais et c'est
92 extrêmement valorisant au niveau de leur CV et ils trouvent tous une thèse après, ils
93 s'inquiètent beaucoup en disant "je ne serai plus en contact avec les labos français, je
94 veux venir faire une thèse en France", il y a absolument aucun problème, vraiment.
95 Donc pour les étudiants français, ces masters internationaux sont vraiment une très
96 grande opportunité, d'autre part, étant financé par le gouvernement français,
97 finalement c'est quand même la moindre des choses qu'il y ait des étudiants français
98 dans les masters internationaux, mais ce n'est pas le cas et mon idéal aurait été qu'il y
99 ait 15 étudiants 7 français 8 étrangers enfin 50/50.

100 MB: Ils sont 15 à peu près?

101 S: Ils sont à peu près 10-12. Pour l'année prochaine à mon avis on aura une quinzaine
102 d'étudiants.

103 MB: Mais ceux qui ont par exemple fait une licence à Grenoble, les Français ils partent
104 où derrière?

105 S: Aha! Ils partent en école d'ingénieur. C'est-à-dire que dans les domaines
106 scientifiques on a une concurrence EFrénée dont à mon avis les présidents d'université
107 ne se rendent pas toujours compte. C'est-à-dire qu'en licence les très bons
108 étudiants...Et justement notre idée de faire un M1 international serait une voie
109 attractive pour ces bons étudiants, mais il n'est pas sûr qu'on l'emporte sur les écoles
110 d'ingénieurs. De la même façon, les écoles ont aujourd'hui le droit de faire des masters
111 internationaux, et il y a, c'est peut être ça aussi, il y a des étudiants français qui
112 préfèrent faire un master international dépendant d'une école d'ingénieurs, qui peuvent
113 mettre sur leur CV plutôt qu'un master international dépendant de l'université. Les
114 étudiants étrangers ils s'en foutent en fait. Eux ce qu'ils voient c'est un endroit où ils
115 vont parler anglais, où ils auront pas la difficulté de la langue...par contre ils sont
116 extrêmement demandeur à l'apprentissage du français, et dans leur lettre de motivation
117 c'est souvent le rayonnement de la France que vous connaissez, les Français disent on
118 est mauvais etc. etc. mais dès qu'on voyage à l'étranger la France a un rayonnement,
119 alors je veux dire, jouit d'une aura qui est remarquable et les passeports français sont
120 forts d'ailleurs. Voilà donc c'est ça, c'est la culture française et d'ailleurs ils apprennent
121 tous le français ici et ils sont extrêmement heureux d'être en France.

122 MB: Ils sont obligés de prendre des cours de français?

123 S: Alors ce que je faisais...euh...ils passent un test d'anglais lorsqu'ils arrivent et
124 j'exige, alors c'est peut être radical mais c'est dans leur intérêt, tout est toujours fait
125 dans leur intérêt, j'exige qu'ils aient un niveau B2 en anglais, donc certains me disent
126 "oui oui oui j'ai un niveau B2", et puis c'est un niveau un peu juste, les étudiants
127 iraniens en particulier, certains étudiants iraniens, dans ce cas-là je leur demande de
128 prendre des cours d'anglais [...]. Mais je fais davantage attention maintenant à ce que...
129 En général je leur demande...peu importe le résultat du TOEFL, du résultat du test
130 IELTS etc., je fais attention à ce qu'ils aient tous un niveau B2 maintenant mais on
131 peut pas garantir que les étudiants soient pas un petit peu juste hein...mais de façon à
132 ce qu'ils puissent avoir des cours de français. [...]

133 MB: Au niveau de la sélection, comment vous sélectionnez ces étudiants?

134 S: Alors il y a une double sélection...même une triple. La première c'est moi par
135 internet, donc je passe beaucoup beaucoup de temps là-dessus, alors l'université
136 commence à faire des formulaires en anglais enfin ils sont arrivés à peu près à faire
137 des formulaires en anglais sur leur site "on line, vous voyez d'où on est parti [smiles].
138 Donc c'est d'abord moi qui demande aux étudiants, alors pas tous parce que j'ai pas
139 toujours le temps, je le faisais moins ces derniers temps mais...qui demande aux
140 étudiants s'ils ont fait de la mécanique des fluides ou pas et de m'envoyer souvent leurs
141 relevés de notes. Alors la raison pour laquelle je fais cela c'est parce que il faut envoyer
142 des dossiers papier, on en est encore là...qu'ils envoient par DHL sinon ça met 3
143 semaines, parce qu'il y a une date limite de réception des dossiers. On en est encore
144 là. [...] Enfin je suis désolée je reparle des aspects logistiques mais l'université ne se
145 rend pas compte du tout alors que dans les écoles d'ingénieurs on peut uploader, enfin
146 déposer un dossier sur un site hein voilà donc ça fait aussi parti des ringardises
147 administratives. [...] il vaut mieux avoir fait de la physique et se mettre à la mécanique
148 des fluides que avoir fait une matière trop qualitative dans laquelle on a pas les bases
149 en maths surtout [...] voilà donc j'ai une première sélection comme ça, ensuite on a
150 une deuxième sélection avec le co-responsable de master qui est [name] où on est de
151 plus en plus vigilant en fait, c'est-à-dire qu'un étudiant qui aurait des A en mécanique
152 des fluides mais qui a un niveau global très très moyen, un niveau en maths pas très
153 bon, on dit non. Et ensuite les dossiers passent après par la commission de validation
154 des acquis de l'UJF parce qu'il s'agit d'une formation de M2 donc on leur donne
155 l'équivalence du M1 pour pouvoir s'inscrire en M2. Donc l'université vérifie
156 qu'effectivement leur niveau est bien celui d'un étudiant pouvant rentrer directement
157 en M2 mais la présélection que j'ai faite fait que tous les dossiers que je présente passe.

158 MB: Et vous regardez les notes d'anglais aussi ou pas?

159 S: Nnnnon [hesitation] en fait euh...euh...non vous avez raison. Alors moi je regarde
160 les notes...parce que comme j'ai marqué sur le site web qu'il fallait un niveau minimal,
161 j'ai indiqué la note minimale du TOEFL qu'il fallait avoir, ou du TOEIC, pareil pour
162 IELTS, les étudiants font très attention eux-mêmes à m'envoyer la justification de ça
163 mais...mais...mais l'UJF ne le regarde pas par exemple. L'UJF ne regarde pas ça quoi,
164 elle devrait faire très attention pourtant donc c'est moi qui regardais ça à la loupe. Mais
165 c'est vrai que quand on a regardé les dossiers hier soir et bien...comme j'avais pas mal
166 communiqué avec l'ensemble des étudiants par mail, on voit quand même comment
167 les gens écrivent l'anglais hein, euh...du coup on n'a pas regardé ce genre de choses
168 parce que je savais qu'il n'y avait pas de problème, mais je suis très vigilante à ça.

169 MB: Et vous avez pas eu de problème de niveau d'anglais de certains?

170 S: Il y a des étudiants qui ont un niveau B1, une étudiante russe par exemple cette
171 année, elle avait un niveau entre B1 et B2 et donc je lui avais demandé de suivre un
172 cours d'anglais de façon parce il y a...il faut suivre les cours en anglais, surtout il faut
173 faire des examens en anglais et donc si on ne parle pas correctement anglais on
174 n'exprime pas ses idées même si c'est pas de la littérature, c'est de la science mais tout
175 de même faut être capable d'exprimer des raisonnements de manière correcte et surtout
176 il y a un rapport de stage de 30 pages à faire en anglais complètement et je veux que
177 ce soit rédigé correctement tout de suite. Le responsable scientifique du master n'est
178 pas là pour aller réécrire le rapport en anglais quoi. [...]

179 MB: Et au niveau des professeurs comment sont-ils recrutés, ceux qui donnent des
180 cours en anglais?

181 S: Alors alors. J'ai d'abord fait une sélection de collègues dont j'avais envie qu'ils
182 enseignent. Alors le terme "sélection" est un peu excessif. Je me suis dit "tiens,
183 j'aimerais bien que le cours de turbulence soit fait par un chercheur qui est top
184 niveau...au plan international" et donc je suis allée lui demander s'il voulait bien faire
185 le cours de turbulence, voilà, lui ça l'intéressait. [...] Il y a donc plusieurs chercheurs
186 comme ça dont je sais qu'au niveau international c'est vraiment des gens très très bien.
187 D'ailleurs un très bon chercheur ne fait pas forcément un très bon enseignant. [...] Et
188 puis il y a également des collègues de l'UJF qui sont également très bien et qui ont dit
189 "moi ça m'intéresse de venir enseigner". Alors il se trouve qu'on est un très bon
190 laboratoire, pour lequel l'anglais est naturel mais il y a je crois des masters qui ont du
191 mal à passer en anglais, parce que les gens ne parlent pas très bien l'anglais.

192 MB: Donc ici c'est pas une difficulté que vous avez rencontrée finalement?

193 S: Non...c'est pas une difficulté...alors j'ai envie de dire qu'il a des gens qui s'y sont
194 mis...j'étais allée voir un collègue, je lui avais dit "tiens j'aimerais bien que
195 l'enseignement que tu fais par ailleurs en français soit en anglais", il m'a dit "oh tu sais
196 moi je parle pas très très bien anglais" [...] et puis je me suis aperçue qu'en fait il s'était
197 parfaitement mis à l'anglais. [...] il a pris en stage une étudiante et je me suis aperçue
198 qu'il parlait bien anglais, il accueille maintenant les étudiantes étrangères etc. Donc
199 c'est aussi stimulant pour nos collègues d'avoir un environnement comme ça en anglais
200 et puis c'est super d'avoir plein d'étudiants en stage de toutes les nationalités donc je
201 pense ça "boost" un petit peu entre guillemets, enfin ça boost, j'exagère un petit peu
202 mais je pense que ça incite les gens à se mettre à l'anglais. Alors ils s'y mettent
203 forcément en tant que chercheur, ils lisent et ils rédigent les articles en anglais mais ils
204 se mettent à parler anglais...voilà.

205 MB: Est-ce que vous pensez que le fait d'enseigner en anglais a un impact sur le
206 contenu académique?

207 S: Alors pas pour moi. Parce que...j'ai pas un excellent niveau en anglais, je manque
208 pas mal de vocabulaire, on est abonné au Times à la maison et il me manque souvent
209 des mots clés, et on est aussi abonné à Courrier International et Courrier International
210 a offert une formation de 3 mois gratuite que je suis... Voilà je m'aperçois que c'est en
211 grammaire que je suis pas très bonne et j'ai des mots de vocabulaire [###] sinon je
212 comprends bien et je parle bien quoi, enfin je parle couramment en fait avec la base
213 de vocabulaire que j'ai mais les articles scientifiques sont très pauvres en terme de
214 vocabulaire, voilà. Donc ça ne me gêne pas... Je parle peut être un peu plus vite en
215 français qu'en anglais...mais c'est pas plus mal de pas parler trop vite...voilà...je pense
216 que ça gêne certains de mes collègues mais moi je passe sans problème du français à
217 l'anglais en fait. Et dans tous les cas au niveau du contenu, les textes scientifiques
218 étant, n'étant pas du tout des textes de littérature...voilà...le...le vocabulaire requis n'est
219 pas...n'est pas très riche. [...] Donc pas pour moi. Voilà.

220 MB: Est-ce que vous pouvez parler un peu plus...vous avez parlé de difficultés de créer
221 au départ ce programme...

222 S: Ah oui...

223 MB: Quelles ont été les difficultés principales que vous avez rencontrées?

224 S: Alors en fait je parlais de la concurrence effrénée avec l'école d'ingénieurs, alors
225 souvent c'est lié à des personnes mais... [...] Et alors l'Université Joseph Fourier ne m'a
226 pas aidé plus de par leur méconnaissance à nouveau des formations en anglais parce
227 que d'une manière générale j'ai un excellent soutien de l'université et de mes collègues
228 mécaniciens à l'UJF. Vraiment ça c'est tout fait remarquable donc mais collègues
229 mécaniciens à l'UJF ont parfaitement compris et [name] m'a beaucoup aidé au début,
230 avait parfaitement compris l'intérêt d'avoir une formation en anglais mais l'UJF restait
231 dans un cadre franco-français très rigide. [...]

232 MB: Donc en fait l'initiative elle est plutôt venue de vous=

233 S: =Complètement.

234 MB: C'est pas l'UJF qui vous a poussé à=

235 S: =Ah pas du tout non. Au contraire de mes collègues à l'INP où c'est le directeur qui
236 leur a dit "tu fais ça, tu fais ça", c'est complètement une initiative personnelle
237 correspondant à un besoin d'attirer de bons étudiants en mécanique des fluides dans
238 nos laboratoires ayant le bon "background" en mécanique.

239 MB: Dans le but de les garder peut être pour une thèse ou...

240 S: Complètement, c'est ça. On a besoin d'étudiants en thèse. On souhaite savoir à qui
241 on a affaire, quel est leur niveau et réciproquement, je veux dire. Un étudiant qui va
242 passer 3 ans avec vous il a envie de savoir aussi à qui il a affaire. Donc c'est l'idée de
243 les tester soit nous-mêmes en master ou soit qu'un collègue les prenne en master et
244 qu'il puisse me dire "ok tu peux y aller", quelqu'un autonome, indépendant, agréable,
245 enthousiaste enfin...

246 MB: Et depuis 4 ans quel est le bilan que vous en tirez de ce master, ou des
247 observations?

248 S: Le bilan il est très positif en fait globalement. C'est-à-dire que c'est très intéressant
249 je trouve de faire ça. Enfin évidemment il y a un côté pile et un côté face mais
250 globalement c'est le plus qui l'emporte...c'est-à-dire que c'est très intéressant d'avoir
251 un ensemble d'étudiants étrangers ici, de toutes les nationalités, on a un étudiant
252 d'Ouzbékistan hein [smiles] voilà, qu'on n'aurait pas dû prendre parce qu'il avait pas
253 le niveau mais on savait pas, il a fait un deuxième master chez un collègue et il m'a dit
254 il n'y a rien à faire il n'a pas le niveau. Donc c'est des gens qu'on prendra plus alors
255 que chez lui il avait mention excellent. Donc c'est très très intéressant d'avoir ce
256 melting pot d'étudiants et d'ailleurs il y a un étudiant colombien qui il y a deux ans ne
257 trouvait pas de stage, la raison de cela c'est que l'année précédente il y avait un étudiant
258 colombien qui était un espèce de fumiste en fait, qui avait un peu bluffé tout le monde,
259 que j'avais pris et qui a échoué, c'est le premier qui a échoué, il y en aura encore un
260 cette année mais sur une cinquantaine d'étudiants il y en a deux qui ont échoué et c'est
261 vraiment des erreurs de casting au départ. Il y en aura plus maintenant vu la façon dont
262 on fait attention [...] Donc le bénéfice...il y a un bénéfice indirect pour mes collègues
263 il y a plusieurs étudiants dans nos laboratoires qui restent ici, qui vont ailleurs en
264 France, des gens qui vont pas mal aussi en Angleterre trouver des bourses de thèse [...]

265 voilà donc c'est globalement bénéfique et par contre les aspects négatifs...je pense
266 même que si quelqu'un voulait monter un master international je dirais d'attendre un
267 peu [...]la logistique à l'université s'est améliorée mais [...].

268 MB: Pensez-vous que petit à petit ça va peut-être passer même au niveau licence? Ou
269 pensez-vous que ça devrait rester au niveau du master ?

270 S: Alors d'abord ce que je pense c'est que dans 10 ans tous les masters des universités
271 seront en anglais, parce que je vous ai expliqué...je dirais pas ce drame même si c'est
272 le terme qui me vient à l'esprit. Tous les bons étudiants de licence s'en vont en fait, il
273 y a une fuite...il y a une fuite vers les écoles d'ingénieurs, vers les formations en
274 apprentissage, vers quelque chose qui va effectivement leur donner un métier. On
275 espère également que le fait de faire un M1 international va nous permettre de garder
276 de bons étudiants de licence, voilà. [...] Il y en a aussi certains qui en profitent pour
277 partir en M1 en fait, en disant "il me faut une expérience à l'étranger". Voilà et notre
278 M1 international permettra peut-être justement, grâce au M2 où il y a ce stage
279 de...voilà. Mais c'est absolument dramatique, les présidents d'université ne se rendent
280 pas compte de ça de la concurrence absolument effrénée qu'il y a en science avec les
281 écoles d'ingénieurs. En biologie on le voit pas, en histoire on voit pas, en lettres on le
282 voit pas. [...] Enfin quand ils [the people from the engineering schools] ont décidé
283 quelque chose, ils mettent le paquet en fait, et il y a un service de communication qui
284 est extrêmement fort, plus fort qu'à l'UJF enfin...ils ont une force de frappe liée aux
285 moyens je pense qu'ils ont déjà, à leur expérience, au réseau et au...j'ai fait une école
286 d'ingénieurs hein, au réseau des écoles d'ingénieurs en France, voilà, qui fait qu'il faut
287 se battre constamment. Et ce qui nous sauve, je pense, c'est notre très bon niveau
288 scientifique, c'est qu'on soit de très bons chercheurs. Donc ça ça nous permet
289 de...quand on met assez d'énergie, d'arriver à s'en sortir.

290 MB: Et les programmes ils sont 100% en anglais du coup?

291 S: Yes, they have to. Oui, bien sûr, bien sûr.

292 MB: Les évaluations...les=

293 S: =Ah oui.

294 MB: Les "course materials" tout ça ?

295 S: Ah bah oui, bien sûr, bien sûr, absolument rien en français.

296 MB: Et est-ce que vous pensez du coup que vous perdez, quelque part quelques
297 étudiants qui n'ont pas accès par exemple à la langue anglaise?

298 S: C'est leur problème. Je pense aujourd'hui que si on ne parle pas anglais...[...] Enfin
299 connaître bien l'anglais aujourd'hui si on veut travailler en entreprise c'est un
300 Minimum, dans TOUTES les écoles d'ingénieurs [...] sur le marché du travail si vous
301 ne parlez pas anglais... Donc en plus on leur donne la possibilité de...enfin d'avoir un
302 bon niveau en anglais [...]. Enfin je pense qu'on n'a pas le choix quoi, les jeunes gens
303 aujourd'hui n'ont pas le choix que...et un niveau B2 c'est pas la maîtrise de la langue
304 on est d'accord. [...] Pour nous les meilleures revues sont des revues anglaises ou
305 américaines [...] Avec [name], mon étudiant colombien on parle anglais...dans le cadre

306 du master international il y a une étudiante de Novossibirsk qui fait une thèse
307 maintenant dans notre laboratoire avec des collègues de notre groupe, elle parle
308 anglais...enfin je veux dire la place du français, professionnellement, elle n'existe pas
309 hein, voilà elle... C'est pas qu'elle n'existe pas mais peu importe... Je veux dire comme
310 vous l'avez compris dans notre groupe aujourd'hui, on a un Italien, on a une Russe, on
311 a un Colombien, j'ai un collègue également et je participe en codirection enfin pas
312 officiellement mais je collabore beaucoup avec l'étudiant, l'étudiant est indien hein,
313 voilà, et on parle anglais avec lui donc...rien que dans notre petit entourage autour de
314 nous on a 4 étudiants étrangers de nationalités différentes et la langue véhiculaire, je
315 devrais pas dire véhiculaire parce que...je sais [#pas] exactement ce qu'il faut dire,
316 mais la langue qu'on utilise au quotidien et pour dialoguer scientifiquement c'est
317 l'anglais. Donc en sciences c'est l'anglais hein, voilà et... [...] Donc on est
318 complètement dans un bain d'anglais hein complètement. [...]

319 MB: Et vous donnez des cours en français ou pas du tout?

320 S: Oui, je donne des cours en L3. Pour en revenir à votre question est ce que l'anglais
321 va descendre au niveau du L3, je pense ça va dépendre beaucoup de ce que vont
322 devenir les universités [...] [Someone knocks on the door, they come in and speak
323 English] ...Et donc vous voyez on parle anglais ! Voilà. [...] Parce que pour l'instant,
324 vous le savez bien les universités c'est la dernière roue du carrosse si je puis dire après
325 le BAC parce qu'il n'y a pas de sélection, et donc on s'inscrit là par défaut et en fait
326 c'est vraiment un piège parce que tous les six mois il y a les examens et en fait tous les
327 six mois les gens giclent et le terme "gicler" c'est un terme violent, un peu vulgaire
328 que je l'emploie volontairement. Vous le savez très bien, vous avez fait l'université je
329 pense?

330 MB: J'ai fait que deux ans ici, oui, en L3... En L3 j'étais à Stendhal, mais j'étais aux
331 Etats-Unis avant en fait.

332 S: Ah c'est bien, super! Ah c'est bien vous avez fait ça. Mais...donc vous avez évité
333 les deux premières années en lettres en France, enfin je crois que c'est catastrophique
334 en fait hein... Evidement à partir de L3, moi aussi je le vois aussi, j'enseigne à partir
335 de L3 à l'université, un cours de mathématique pour la physique et les jeunes gens sont
336 motivés, sérieux, bossent, sont gentils, courtois, posent des questions, c'est vraiment
337 agréable quoi. C'est vraiment bien. Donc j'ai envie de dire qu'on pourra peut-être
338 mettre des cours en L3... ce serait effectivement aussi une manière d'attirer des
339 étudiants à l'université...mais il faudrait qu'il y ait une sélection au départ en fait. [...]
340 c'est plus comme ça qu'on pourra attirer de bons étudiants, plus que, et c'est comme ça
341 que je le voyais, que de mettre des cours en anglais au niveau L3. [...]

342 MB: Et quand vous donnez des cours en anglais et en français, je sais que c'est pas au
343 même niveau, c'est L3 et Master, il y a une différence de...de méthodologie
344 d'enseignement d'une langue à une autre ou pas forcément?

345 S: Alors ça c'est peut-être le problème, non pas du tout. C'est-à-dire que j'enseigne à
346 la française. J'enseigne à la française avec chapitre 1...les étudiants aiment bien...
347 chapitre 1, grand 1, ensuite premièrement, je souligne au tableau, j'écris au tableau,
348 donc évidemment je passe des diapositives, des films et des choses comme ça pour
349 illustrer ce que je fais mais non alors là c'est complètement...c'est complètement
350 français au niveau de la structure. Mais les ouvrages, qui sont tous en anglais

351 évidemment, les ouvrages scientifiques que j'ai sont également structurés... [...]. Donc
352 la façon d'enseigner est celle que j'ai apprise donc elle est très structurée, à la française,
353 cartésienne, mais les étudiants aiment bien, parce qu'au moins c'est clair.

354 MB: Et dans quelle mesure y a-t-il un aspect...une dimension linguistique dans vos
355 cours?

356 S: C'est-à-dire?

357 MB: C'est-à-dire est-ce que vous essayez d'apporter du vocabulaire en anglais ou...

358 S: Je suis pas capable. Non. D'abord je suis pas capable et puis c'est pas l'objectif en
359 fait. L'objectif est de faire comprendre des concepts, des notions difficiles, donc il faut
360 que les termes soient aussi simples que possibles. C'est ça la, la... c'est quelque chose
361 auquel j'ai déjà pensé hein...les articles scientifiques sont aussi pauvres parce que, les
362 phrases sont courtes, parce qu'il s'agit d'expliquer des choses qui sont pas faciles en
363 fait, donc on va pas mettre la difficulté dans le vocabulaire employé dans la mesure
364 où le concept lui-même n'est pas forcément simple. J'exagère quand même, c'est pas
365 de la relativité générale...mais pour des étudiants qui n'ont jamais fait ça il s'agit de
366 bien leur faire comprendre des notions qui sont pas faciles pour eux. Il faut pas du tout
367 qu'il y ait de barrière de vocabulaire, au contraire. [...] Comme j'ai des notes de cours
368 ça les aide beaucoup s'il a des petites choses qui n'ont pas très bien comprises du fait
369 de la langue...alors justement l'idée est que la langue ne soit pas une barrière parce
370 qu'il y a trop de difficultés à ce moment-là quand même, parler climat, culture, c'est
371 pas possible quoi. [...]

372 MB: Alors par exemple le niveau B2 ça c'était votre décision?

373 S: Oui, c'est ça, c'était ma décision. [...] mais effectivement, l'ensemble des cours qui
374 a été fait, les personnes qui interviennent, le nombre d'heures totales du cours, le fait
375 de suivre de l'anglais ou du français ça c'est moi qui décide par contre à l'intérieur des
376 cours moi je laisse les gens libres...

377 MB: Pour vous qu'est-ce que c'est le niveau B2 en fait?

378 S: Enfin j'en sais rien, c'est les gens de langues de Stendhal qui décident si c'est un
379 niveau B2 ou pas.

380 MB: D'accord.

381 S: Je sais que c'est le niveau qu'on doit avoir en fin de terminale, je sais que c'est un
382 niveau minimal. Je pense que moi-même je dois avoir un niveau entre C1, C2 quelque
383 chose comme ça. J'ai peut-être un niveau C2 en anglais, je sais pas.

Sample of interview transcript with Vittorio

Date: 24/04/2015

Time: 5.30pm

Location: Laboratoire 3SR, bâtiment E, 175 rue de la passerelle, 38610 GIERES

1 MB: I saw on the internet that since...in 2007 you created an international
2 masters...there we go...geomechanics, civil engineering and risks... So I was wanting
3 to know if you could give me a bit more detail about why you set up this program
4 and retrospectively, 5 years, 8 years down the line what are some of the conclusions
5 and remarks that you have...

6 V: The situation was the following, there was a master in mechanics, on site and...not
7 very much in good shape we... At that time there was something like 5 to 6 students
8 per year mostly coming from Maghreb, no French at all. There was an initiative by
9 Joseph Fourier that was called "BQI", "bonus qualité internationale". The idea was
10 to push and to...provoke in a sense some international initiatives... Now
11 geomechanics in Grenoble is a very... is a long tradition, it's a very international one.
12 This centre is a...the very centre of European association called "Alert
13 Geomaterials",¹⁰⁶ "Alert" stands for "alliance of laboratories in research and
14 technology" whatever...about 20 to 25 European universities in geomechanics. So
15 there was a network already there. My network was more international than French
16 so in a sense the idea of creating something at European level was almost an easy
17 idea so I decided to go. I got a couple of years to study the process, to set up the
18 thing, to check with a number of partners how to shape it and after a couple of years
19 we decided to go for it, so when I started it, it was meant mostly as a European project
20 [...]. So the first year I just use my network just by contacting colleagues one after
21 the other and saying "do you have a good student"... "oriented towards a PhD" and
22 that's more or less the beginning of the story. We started and I said, I remember I
23 said I would like to have about 20 students, the first year they were exactly 20
24 students and 19 of which went for a PhD afterwards so it was a big success, it was
25 exactly what I wanted. Over the years the programme has been I think 15 to 20
26 students for 3, 4, 5 years and then a couple of years ago the thing exploded. Last year
27 I had about 400 applications and I selected 35 of them. This year I have a couple of
28 hundred applicants and I selected already about 40 of them, now you should keep in
29 mind that in our discipline the so called "Master de Recherche" it's typically around
30 10 to 12 students so the fact that we have about 40 that's incredible, that's a lot. Where
31 they come from? Less and less from Europe or I should say more and more from
32 other countries. There is still a European... "noyau" how do you say that?...
33 Anyway...

34 MB: Centre?

35 V: Centre... There are a number of nationalities who are...Italy, Greece, let's say the
36 south, southern Europe because southern European, the students have no perspective,
37 there is no mystery about Greece and Italy and Spain they come just because there
38 is no research possibilities for...so this is a good reservoir for students. And then they

¹⁰⁶ Alert Geomaterials : Alliance of Laboratories in Europe for Research and Technology

39 come from many other countries including, interestingly enough, people from
40 Eastern Europe, more and more, Slovenia, Russia, Albania, et cetera et cetera.
41 Indians are coming, a few Chinese, not that much and then Vietnamese... Lebanon is
42 getting more and more represented... South America quite a lot and from time to time
43 you know America, Canada... Australia but these are individuals. I would say that
44 today I should say that more than half of the students are not European and many of
45 them come from the Mediterranean area...from Lebanon. So the program started as
46 a European program...is now more international. There is a big issue concerning the
47 French students. This program is not able to attract French students and this is a pity
48 I would like to have a, let's say 20 percent of them. In fact this year I had 2 out of
49 35, except for students coming from Ecole Normale Supérieure, "ENS", they come
50 because they are good and they understand this is a... the others don't come and I
51 think this is... Well for a number of reasons we can discuss later on... [...].

52 MB: And how do you select them because you said that you get hundreds of
53 applications...

54 V: I select... that's myself there is no formal procedure. University has a formal
55 procedure that's called CVA "Commission de la Validation des Acquis". All the
56 students have foreign degrees so they must go formally through a procedure which
57 is the same for every student. What I do, since a few years, I pre-select, I filter, and
58 this is very time consuming because I do it one by one, e-mail, telephone, skyping...
59 I do that over the weekend... Of course there are students for which I do not go
60 through that. A French student, an Italian student I know where they come from, I
61 can...just looking at the academic transcript that's ok. But when a student is coming
62 from China I need to understand if the student is able to speak in English besides
63 writing and emailing in English. So in that case I would telephone, I would call...

64 MB: So you expect a certain level of English, that is one of your requirements...

65 V: Yea...university recommends B2, I don't care about that, they send me IELTS
66 and I don't care about that, I just call them and see whether they are able to discuss.

67 MB: Ok...

68 V: And in a few minutes you realise whether the student can make it or not so...if
69 their English is as good as my English, which means a little that you can understand
70 each other, attend the class, write an exam in English, that's fine to me. [...]

71 MB: Ok...and I was looking on the website of the UJF and it's not extremely clear
72 for me but I think they are about 9 or 10 mas=

73 V: =10 plus this one...yea.

74 MB: 11 masters programs...ok... Are they exclusively in English because some of
75 them=

76 V: =Not really, not really. This one I should say, proudly, that this is the first
77 program, it was the first time, by the way, this perhaps might be interesting for you,
78 from a sociological point of view, when I presented this program to the...what was
79 that...some committee or whatever let's say the big bosses at the... I was invited to

80 present the idea, so I went there, as a young assistant professor, well younger than
81 now and I presented the programme. I do remember one person, I can remember his
82 name, anyway I will never tell his name who said if “I understand it well, this young
83 guy is suggesting that our university will deliver a degree to someone who is not able
84 to speak French, this will never happen, you will need to kill me before this happens”.
85 Well I didn't kill him... So it's interesting because 10 years ago, at the time, there was
86 a strong resistance, a number of people were very reluctant to that. Today they
87 encourage, they push us to do that.

88 MB: Was he a scientist or...

89 V: Yes absolutely. He was an old man, an old professor of chemistry or whatever...
90 but he really considered that... Now the idea if you like is very simple, it's very much
91 what happened to me. I strongly believe and this is one of the things that at the time
92 I remember that was the analysis. I remember that I was thinking why we have
93 troubles in getting foreign students. And one of the basic reasons was language. Now
94 when you attract a student at the master level who doesn't speak a word of French,
95 he will get it because the program is in English. Now after 1 year in France at the
96 end of the year they speak French! They like the country, the culture, the language
97 et cetera et cetera. Especially when they stay for a PhD, by the time they are at second
98 year of PhD they speak French! But the reason why they could come and speak
99 French is because the program was designed to also accept people who do not speak
100 not even one single word of French...

101 MB: Do you still come across some resistance or over the years does it...

102 V: Well on the teachers' side, on the university side, not anymore, on the contrary. I
103 see that there is even...the thing has completely changed. On the students' side, on
104 the French student side, this is unfortunately very very strong. Again we have
105 troubles in attracting students and I decided from the very beginning this rule that
106 everything is in English and then for the French students the second semester, that's
107 a research project, they must do it abroad, it's a condition it's written and this is one
108 of the reasons why many French students do not come to this programme because
109 they are scared about English and then because come on...

110 MB: So... But the foreign students coming in they don't have to do the semester
111 abroad?

112 V: They can, they can, it's allowed, but it's not compulsory. [...]

113 MB: And does the university provide a sort of language policy or guidelines for
114 these programmes or is it up to each programme coordinator to decide... Do you
115 know what I mean?

116 V: Do you want the honest answer or...

117 MB: Yes, yes [laughs].

118 V: This university is trying to do big efforts, but we are quite far from... The
119 registration that is online is now since a couple of years also existing in English, until
120 2 years ago with international programmes and all the registration procedure was in

121 French. So I was registering the students myself. So the Chinese would say “I’m
122 trying to register, it’s in French, I don’t understand”. So I would be online and I was
123 pretending I was the Chinese student as you can understand this is a bit a... So after
124 many fights, in the end, we got that. However we are still at the...in a situation that
125 is a bit crazy because once they register in English, they come here and then there is
126 the actual registration at the university and this is in French, and the administrative
127 people do not speak English... So in terms of administrative support it’s very very
128 difficult because in essence this relies on the coordinators.

129 MB: Are they required to take French lessons or not?

130 V: They are not. They are required to take one of the “UE” of the module, say it’s a
131 foreign language it can be either French or English or anything else. It is required in
132 order to get a Master’s degree but this is not Grenoble thing I think. This is a French
133 rule, to have a B2 level at least in one language that is not your mother tongue so it’s
134 half and half.

135 MB: You mentioned earlier that, theoretically it is supposed to be B2 level but you
136 call them to see yourself, but what about the professors what level do you think they
137 should have...

138 V: Many of us are not French when I started the programme more than half of the
139 professors were not French and this helps because at least we don’t speak with a
140 French accent, I’m not saying we don’t have an accent as you can understand we do,
141 but in the first in the first very first years we were an Italian, a Greek, a Polish,
142 Spanish, there was even a British, he was the only professor that nobody could
143 understand of course, he was speaking perfect British... No we are sufficiently
144 exposed to English that I don’t think this is a big trouble for us to teach in English
145 so... It is true that there is a few colleagues, I would say 2 out of 40 so it’s not
146 statistically relevant but it’s [###] who cannot teach English.

147 MB: Right. You only teach any at Master’s level is that correct?

148 V: No I teach also teach at other levels.

149 MB: In English as well?

150 V: No in French.

151 MB: Oh in French ok... When you give a class, a course in English do you have a
152 focus on teaching English or to what extent is your class content oriented and
153 language oriented?

154 V: No it’s not language orientated at all, at all. It is clear that from time to time there
155 might be a vocabulary issue, technical English is not necessarily... But you know
156 papers, books, in our domain are all in English, so in sciences English... You might
157 have students who know the technical words in English even if they’re not very good
158 in... They are not fluent, but they would know the vocabulary, so no this is not an
159 issue. [...]

160 MB: So you don’t think that...do you think teaching in English has an impact on the
161 content...in a way or not...

162 V: In a sense it does of course because I think that I might be better, a better teacher
163 in my own language it's just a matter of how your vocabulary is [###]. The example
164 I'm always using is the example when you're [#pain] I know 27 words in Italian to
165 say [#pain] and a couple of them to say [#pain] in [English/French]...so I don't
166 know... You see what I mean... It is clear that teaching is about making something
167 understandable and it can help when you can say the same thing in many different
168 ways. Now if you are teaching in a language that is not your own language this is...
169 But you know it is clear that when you teach to people coming from many different
170 countries teaching in English to French is one thing teaching in English to... Last
171 year I can tell you there was 35 students who are coming from 18 different
172 nationalities from Indian to French and so...

173 MB: Is this the case do you think also across the other 10 programmes?

174 V: I don't think so...

175 MB: It is especially your ...your program which is very international...

176 V: What I know, I don't know well all of them, but what I know about the other
177 programs is first but they do have more French students attending, second that some
178 of them are not completely in English. And third that there are even, even if I will
179 never say who I am talking about, there are some fake English programs because I
180 know at least a couple of experiences in which a student was admitted and then the
181 day of the “rentrée”, the French teacher, the French professor would say “ok you are
182 13, 12 French, 1... ok since there are just one non-French the course will be given in
183 French” which I think is very very... I mean this would never happen in the UK
184 because that is like breaking the contract you know. Anyway so also I think perhaps
185 less so now but at the beginning the international flavour was also given by the fact
186 that many professors are not French and this I think is a strong plus. You know
187 international... If we decide, if we come from the same country and we decide to
188 make everything in another language that's one thing, but when you come different
189 countries and the teachers [###]... that's quite different

190 MB: If you had to say what is the main challenge of teaching in English, is it perhaps
191 that in your own language you know 10 words to say one concept...

192 V: This is one important thing the other point is that the challenge comes from the
193 fact that the level of English of the students is very much scattered. It would be much
194 easier if they all had the same level but this is very... This is not the case. This year I
195 have a student who is Canadian, she is bilingual, in fact she's trilingual, she's Russian
196 [name] English French and this year I also had an American student so it is clear that
197 their English... But this is nice because from time to time I can say “hey how do you
198 say this”. So the challenge comes from the fact that the level of the students is
199 very...is not homogenous. [...]

200 MB: Mmm... So in your programme everything is assessed in English, all course
201 materials PowerPoints, presentations...

202 V: Yea everything, everything.

203 MB: Ok I was just wondering...

204 V: The only anything that is happening and this I am not very happy with is that
205 because of the Lebanese students who can speak very good English but they also
206 speak a good French or most of them... In the second semester when it comes to the
207 research project, that's not a classroom, it's working in the way like we are talking
208 now, the French professor, my French colleagues will tend to speak French to the
209 students and of course I cannot go and check but this I don't like it. It was not
210 happening before but since all these Lebanese speak also very good French they end
211 up doing their...which is kind of stupid because they will write to thing in English,
212 they will defend in English but still the work is done in French and if I am not very
213 happy with.

214 MB: Mm...so you said that you teach at undergraduate level in French and in English
215 at master's level. When you teach in French or when you teach in English, do you
216 think it has an impact on your teaching methods?

217 V: Yes, yes.

218 MB: In what way?

219 V: Well it's the structure of the language you know that...the way in which you teach
220 is not...is strongly related to what you teach and I think I teach in English in a
221 different way...perhaps in the end in a better way than in French, that's the language
222 in which I think very often... So sometimes I have to translate into French rather than
223 the other way round. When I'm very tired, it happened to me a couple of times that
224 without realising it, I started speaking English while I was teaching in French and
225 the students say "Monsieur vous parlez...".

226 MB: [laughs]

227 V: It never happened the other way round. But yes I think it's a it's a... All the slides,
228 all my slides even in other classes that I give in French often times I use slides in
229 English anyway, something that the students do not necessarily like, but again this is
230 another way of making teaching a little bit more international. Speaking in French,
231 you teach in French but the slides are in English but this is a way to help them a bit
232 with vocabulary etcetera.

233 MB: Do they ask questions in French then?

234 V: Yea.

235 MB: Ok, ok, but that's at undergraduate level.

236 V: Undergrad yea, yea.

237 MB: Mm... So the reason you created your programme you said was to broaden the
238 nationalities of students, but at the university level, at UJF level, what is what are the
239 main reasons for increasing the number of courses in English do you think?

240 V: I think it is being more attractive. They realise that if you have some courses in
241 English you get more attractive, you can get good students who would go to other
242 countries UK and America just to... not to name them and we see these students now
243 coming [otherwise] they would not.

244 MB: So you have noticed an increase then...

245 V: Yes, yes.

246 MB: That's interesting.

247 V: I think this is a... And plus you know these things happen very much and you
248 can create all these things on the website but this... A few years ago my students
249 created a Facebook group for this Master and this again... A few weeks after the
250 Facebook group was created the number of applicants increased by a factor of 2 that
251 is clear because... So being attractive is one thing, well there are other reasons that
252 are not related to the English why I decided to create this Master, one thing is that I
253 was discussing this with other European colleagues who were kind of complaining
254 about the general level of our PhD students, most of them are missing the
255 fundamental knowledge, so I remember very well I said "Why? Why don't we stop
256 complaining and do something about it", "why don't we create one year in which
257 they would learn some solid knowledge that we think is needed before starting a
258 PhD" and this is the way in which the thing started and for me it was very natural to
259 do it in English.

260 MB: What were they complaining about sorry?

261 V: We were complaining about the fact that our PhD students were not prepared
262 enough, that their background was not good enough, their technical background. So
263 we decided this year was designed to give to the students who are planning to move
264 into a PhD you know with the basic knowledge that you need before going into
265 research.

266 MB: And do you think that the UJF is going to gradually introduce more and more
267 English courses at Bachelor level, licence level?

268 V: I don't know. I know that from next year we will start we will start doing this
269 experience in my field in mechanics at the M1 level. I believe that whenever you do
270 things in education it is a good way to go D-M-L rather than L-M-D. You start with
271 a PhD and then move to the master and then probably go all the way up or down to
272 licence so this might come... I would not personally, I do not like the idea of a
273 university becoming of a university in which everything is taught in English. I think
274 there is a matter of balance between... I wouldn't be happy, I am very happy there are
275 classes in French but I like the idea that there is also the possibility, the option for
276 having a few courses in English.

277 MB: Why do you like that?

278 V: Because that's part of the culture, it would be very sad to have... One typical
279 discussion [###] about PhD... "Should I write my PhD dissertation in English or in
280 French"... Many people, many people that I know say it should be written in English,
281 English is the language. I am against it, a PhD is, you will discover it...is essentially
282 useful for the person writing the PhD, who is going to read a PhD? People read papers
283 not PhD, so PhD is an exercise, an intellectual exercise, you should write it in a
284 language that you master the best. Papers should be in English, a PhD should be
285 written in the language in which you feel the most comfortable... So we accept both.

286 MB: So if you have a student coming to you, if they want you to be their supervisor
287 you will encourage them to write in the language that they feel the most
288 comfortable...

289 V: Yea... Of course that means either English or French here... They cannot write in
290 Vietnamese...but yea I'm not pushing to English, so again I'm not anglophile radical.
291 I think that English is fine, it is the language in which most of my life, my work life
292 happened but again I think there is nothing wrong with French and I am very happy
293 when I see that the students end up speaking French. [...]

294 MB: You mentioned earlier connections between language and culture and that you
295 would be sad to see a university which is 100 percent in English, so what do you
296 think is the place of French in universities what should... What role should it have?

297 V: Hmm... This university, you know research happens, research is international by
298 definition, you never ask ID to research. Research is research and is happening in
299 one language which is the one that allows you to talk to the maximum of people.
300 There was a time in which it was French, now it's English, perhaps in two centuries
301 it will be Chinese. So English is just now. Education is more than research, research
302 is one thing it's my job but students are learning a number of things and it's good that
303 they learn it in the language in which they can learn the most so since we are in
304 France and most of the students are French I consider it completely obvious... Again
305 education is much more than research, it's about learning a number of things and you
306 know learning in your language you just learn better.

307 MB: You mentioned earlier when you started the programme it was a period where
308 the...there was licence master and doctorat being put in place from Europe. Do you
309 think introducing more and more English is changing the system as well in a way?

310 V: No I don't think so, no not yet. Will it eventually change the system, probably yes,
311 not yet, I think that this is not the country for fast change. Inertia is still there,
312 changes in France are always...it takes time... No things are changing again, we now
313 accept completely the idea that there is a full one year programme that is taught in
314 English, as I told you, 10 years ago people were saying "are you crazy this cannot
315 exist" and now it exists, it's accepted without any... So again I see... This is not about
316 education, it is more about research... but our administrative people, my secretary
317 she's French, she doesn't know any English but now when she writes e-mail to the
318 lab, sometimes she writes them in English, because in this lab out of 150 people there
319 is I would say probably 40 to 50 people who do not understand French, so one third
320 of the lab does not understand French. So in research, in the labs, this is changing.

321 MB: When we walked in earlier you said 60 percent of your day is in English 20 in
322 French and possibly 20 in Italian. Can you just describe what that would mean in
323 your typical day?

324 V: Well my typical day includes... Well I'm the director of the lab so there is a lot
325 of administration and this is very often in French. Research wise that's English, I
326 write papers in English, I read papers in English, I discuss with students and
327 colleagues in English. Because it's very rare that when we have these meetings and
328 we have more than 4 there is not even one who is not French even if there is one non-
329 French speaking of course we naturally switch to English.

- 330 MB: But as you said it would be difficult maybe for a complete Anglophone to arrive
331 and not know any French for administrative purposes it seems...
- 332 V: That's the problem I would say... Right now I believe that the strong problem we
333 have is not very much teaching classes in English, it's actually to have all the support
334 to teaching and also the support to research in English because this of course... We
335 need to wait perhaps a couple of generations.
- 336 MB: For people who have never taught in English, you have been teaching for a long
337 time, but for someone who hasn't had that much experience is there any training or...
338 how does that work?
- 339 V: The university offers some but none of my colleagues would go for that, no this
340 is a... Administrative person do [have training] and I encourage them very much to
341 do that, so I'm pushing all our administrative, all "les secrétaires" to attend classes in
342 English and they do it and I ask them to do it because I say you are living in
343 international... The standard thing... You call the Netherlands, Sweden whatever
344 European country, you call any lab, any secretary would say "hello"...here "bonjour".
345 This is pretty... I mean we can laugh about it but, most of the time I'm not laughing
346 about it, it's a problem, it's embarrassing... On average French administrative person
347 do not speak any other language.
- 348 MB: But it seems that from what you said there are fewer and fewer French students
349 in your programme... Do you think that the French students tend to have less
350 knowledge of English than the international students would you say?
- 351 V: Well the international students that I am talking about are those who decide to
352 come here, so they are not representative of their countries, they are the brave ones
353 right, so I am comparing the brave non-French to the average French which is not a
354 fair comparison... The French are not necessarily... you are French enough to know
355 that everybody would say French are very bad with languages... I'm not sure this is
356 true, they are scared. The two categories of students that are the most scared with
357 respect to English that I know are the French and Japanese. They are very similar
358 with that respect the Japanese would never come to this programme because it's...
359 and the French are also...
- 360 MB: So you think it's not a question of... the fact that there are less, there are fewer
361 French students is more because they might be a bit anxious than=
- 362 V: =I believe so, I believe so. It's more... Sometimes it's ideological. I remember a
363 very good student telling me "you know I'm not interested because I would never
364 study...French is as international as English, I don't see why I should study in
365 English, bloody language... American imperialist", ok...but this is the ideological
366 side. More often there is a sort of resistance that comes from being a bit scared.
- 367 MB: That's interesting...
- 368 V: But these things are changing to be honest in the right direction, so I'm not very...
369 It takes time... Again, we need to wait a couple of generations to... [...].

370 MB: So is your goal to try and keep the Masters' students in France then, to then
371 carry on=

372 V: =Not necessarily, not necessarily... Many of them... To me I consider it a true
373 success and this happens quite often to be honest, when the student goes back to his
374 country and possibly starts a PhD, a joint PhD with us because that is a seed. So it is
375 true also that research wise my group has been growing a lot in terms of [#seeds]
376 because you know some of our former students are now PhD students in Sweden.
377 This is becoming very very common. We don't have 40 PhD scholarship per year,
378 we can have a maximum of say 8 to 9, that's already a lot. Right now I have a joint
379 PhD student in Sydney, another one in Edinburgh, another one in Dresden, another
380 one in Lund, Sweden. So these 4 students are 4 former master students at the end of
381 the master they wanted to go for a PhD I called my colleagues over there I say I have
382 a very good student do you have a scholarship for him or for her. [...]

383 MB: And the people who take your programme what are the reasons for them to...
384 You said that sometimes they just don't have a choice, that there is no future in their
385 country for research but are there some who say I want to take this programme
386 because it's in English and for X reason...

387 V: I think mostly they are thinking of the PhD, that's the main drive I think and now
388 the programme is well...let's say known enough and they know that if they come
389 here... But again...this is a matter of... Geomechanics in Grenoble it's quite well
390 known... I shouldn't say that because ok...[but] honestly it is... By the way that's the
391 reason why I came to Grenoble, that's the reason why the British, the Polish, the
392 Greek came to it so all the faculty members who are not French are here because this
393 group is very good in geomechanics so it is the same reason that attracted me to... I
394 was living in Chicago and I got this possibility to come here and I say fantastic
395 Grenoble is one of the places in which you do good geomechanics and again there is
396 a sort of, these things happen. [...]

397 MB: Do you have any more questions or comments that you would like to make or
398 an overall statement to wrap up?

399 V: Yea I had one question are you... Joseph Fourier is basically a science and
400 technology etc... in your study are you only looking at those kind of universities, "les
401 sciences dures", or are you going to=

402 MB:= Only the "sciences dures" for the simple reason that... Actually it is not a
403 common practice in other universities yet, this might change but even in...obviously
404 in business schools=

405 V: =Yea true...political sciences might change...not "droit, lettres" et cetera.

406 MB: But I was interested in doing something on public universities so all the grandes
407 écoles, business schools I didn't want to look at so that excludes Sciences Po etc. and
408 in "sciences humaines" actually this is not yet... I think it's coming gradually but it's
409 not enough for me to do an actual study.

410 V: Ok... Are there any other universities that you are also looking at in your study
411 or just Joseph Fourier?

412 MB: Just Joseph Fourier.

413 V: A single case.

414 MB: Just a single case because otherwise there are so many different factors coming
415 in and I think it would be too much, so I would rather do a detailed study...

416 V: =To to wrap up and to make a general point I think that the question is that a
417 course in English is not only about the course itself, it's the environment and this is
418 something that you realise the more you... Environment meaning what we said...the
419 paperwork et cetera et cetera, giving the class in English in the end is the easiest thing
420 to do. If you are not an idiot I mean you can give a class in English. It's all what is
421 happening around it is the rules... "Le règlement de l'examen" is written in French!
422 And you should say but come on you are registering students...you don't...you accept
423 they do not speak....and then you give them a règlement d'examen that is in French
424 it doesn't make any sense... [...].

Sample of interview transcript with the President of the UJF

Date: 03/11/2015

Time: 5pm

Location: Bâtiment administratif UJF, 621 avenue Centrale.

- 1 MB: Je voulais vous poser des questions sur les programmes en anglais...les raisons
2 pour lesquelles ça a été mis en place etc.... Donc...moi quand j'ai commencé ma thèse
3 il y avait à peu près...7 masters en anglais maintenant je crois qu'il y en a 15 ou 16
4 même... Quelles sont les raisons pour lesquelles on propose comme ça de plus en
5 plus de formations en anglais?
- 6 P: Bah je pense qu'il y a une raison de...visibilité, d'attractivité en fait, c'est un peu
7 les deux raisons. Donc l'idée c'est effectivement qu'on a...la volonté d'accueillir un
8 certain nombre d'étudiants qui viennent de l'étranger, plus qu'actuellement.
9 Actuellement en fait la proportion en doctorat est assez importante hein de lors de
10 47% sur le site. Mais en master on est un petit peu faible...alors si on prend
11 l'ensemble du site...particulièrement on est en dessous des valeurs nationales, c'est
12 pas vrai pour l'UJF hein...mais c'est vrai pour l'ensemble du site. Donc ça a aussi
13 l'idée...bien que l'anglais ne soit pas la seule langue étrangère qui soit de ce point de
14 vue-là utile, enfin c'est quand même la principale... C'est vraiment dans cet esprit-là
15 de dire qu'on essaie d'accueillir, d'attirer les meilleurs étudiants avec la perspective
16 éventuellement, même souvent, de leur faire faire une thèse.
- 17 MB: D'accord. Et est-ce que ces objectifs ont été réussis, enfin c'est un constat que
18 vous faites? Vous arrivez à attirer ces étudiants...à cibler ces étudiants?
- 19 P: Oui enfin c'est un peu variable d'un master à l'autre mais globalement oui. On a
20 l'impression que... En tout cas ce qu'il y a de sûr c'est que si on n'a pas une connotation
21 forte internationale c'est beaucoup plus difficile, sauf évidemment pour les étudiants
22 francophones mais pour les tous autres c'est beaucoup plus difficile... Ça n'exclut pas
23 d'ailleurs d'avoir...enfin d'enseigner le français comme une langue étrangère pour ces
24 étudiants-là, au contraire, mais enfin bon de toute façon c'est quand même
25 absolument indispensable. D'ailleurs je pense que beaucoup d'étudiants ne
26 viendraient pas à Grenoble, en France ou à Grenoble, avec une absence d'intégration
27 de l'anglais de façon forte dans ces maquettes de masters, même s'ils ont l'objectif
28 d'apprendre le français.
- 29 MB: D'accord donc ça c'est un module qui est obligatoire, les cours de français...de
30 FLE?
- 31 P: Oui le FLE est compris dans la nouvelle maquette de l'UJF.
- 32 MB: D'accord... Sur le site internet on voit tantôt 'parcours en anglais' tantôt
33 'parcours international', qu'est-ce que ça veut dire finalement un parcours en anglais
34 ou un parcours international?
- 35 P: Euh... En fait souvent ça veut dire que le...le...parcours en anglais n'est pas
36 totalement en anglais en fait donc il y a une partie qui est en français alors que le
37 master international il est vraiment exclusivement conçu en anglais. [...]

38 MB: Justement en parlant de la qualité de, des formations scientifiques en anglais, il
39 y a certains scientifiques qui s'y sont opposés pour des raisons de qualité qu'est-ce
40 que vous en pensez? Est-ce qu'il y a un risque que=

41 P: =Oui il y a un risque. Bah le risque c'est que... Enfin on le voit aujourd'hui parce
42 que c'est une discussion qu'on a avec les enseignants qui enseignent l'anglais eux-
43 mêmes puisque en fait on a quand même une carence, enfin une pénurie on va dire,
44 d'enseignants en anglais pour des raisons budgétaires, tout ce qu'on veut, donc
45 effectivement la question est venue de est-ce que c'est possible de pallier en partie ça
46 par la participation d'enseignants qui ne sont pas des profs d'anglais qui enseignent
47 dans telle ou telle discipline mais qui feraient leurs cours en anglais, ça c'est tout à
48 fait possible à condition d'avoir quand même vérifié les prérequis, c'est-à-dire bien
49 qu'ils aient la compétence, la compétence linguistique suffisante pour faire ça, et le
50 risque effectivement c'est qu'un enseignement qui est scientifiquement est correct ou
51 même très bon en français, pour des questions de difficulté linguistique, de
52 l'enseignant hein, deviennent très très limite voire difficiles à comprendre, en tout
53 cas très détériorés en qualité parce que les compétences linguistiques ne sont pas là
54 quoi.

55 MB: Et justement en terme de prérequis etc. est-ce qu'il y a une politique linguistique
56 au niveau de l'université par exemple pour le niveau des professeurs etc.?

57 P: Pas vraiment et je pense qu'on va s'orienter vers ça, alors probablement sur la base
58 du bénévolat enfin je veux dire on va pas forcer les gens, mais oui ça serait utile je
59 pense de vérifier ces compétences-là avec leur accord de façon que les gens puissent
60 savoir si oui ou non ils sont susceptibles d'enseigner en anglais. Je pense que le fait
61 qu'ils soient capables de présenter en anglais une communication en anglais un quart
62 d'heure etc. ça suffit pas à dire qu'ils sont capables d'enseigner en anglais, c'est autre
63 chose. Bon après les gens qui ont bien l'habitude de faire ça... À condition d'avoir un
64 travail de préparation suffisant... Bon je veux dire, enfin moi j'ai mené 30 ans de ma
65 vie professionnelle en anglais à chaque fois que j'ai eu des cours à faire en anglais ça
66 ne posait pas trop de problèmes. Mais il faut le vérifier.

67 MB: Mmm. D'accord. Donc pour l'instant les masters en anglais restent plutôt au
68 niveau M2 quand même...

69 P: Quelques-uns en M1 quand même.

70 MB: Voilà quelques-uns qui sont en train de basculer en anglais en M1 en géo-
71 mécanique par exemple, est-ce qu'on va avoir de plus en plus ou=

72 P: =Oui je pense. Oui je pense parce que notre déficit, entre guillemets hein, notre
73 déficit d'attractivité pour les étudiants étrangers il doit inclure le M1... Enfin on
74 accueille des étudiants en M2 effectivement mais enfin [...] du coup inclure le M1
75 dans cet environnement-là c'est logique.

76 MB: Oui d'accord. Et au niveau licence vous pensez que ça sera un but dans quelques
77 années de faire basculer les licences?

78 P: Oui on l'a déjà un petit peu fait. Ça suscite quelques résistances il faut bien le dire
79 mais oui je pense que c'est l'objectif.

- 80 MB: Pour quelles raisons?
- 81 P: Pour des raisons de mises en œuvre pratiques... Puis je pense que bon, à la limite
82 pour le master, les gens se font une raison puisqu'ils se disent bon, voilà, au fond il
83 y a une forme de sélection, enfin une sélection entre guillemets, évidemment il n'y a
84 pas de sélection, mais pour la licence c'est un peu vécu par certains enseignants voire
85 par certains étudiants comme...un peu...trop élitiste et un peu ségrégationniste.
- 86 MB: Mmm. Oui parce que la licence en biologie, par exemple, il y a un programme
87 international à partir de la L1 où il y a une sélection parmi ceux qui ont été acceptés.
- 88 P: Oui. Oui. Il y a des critères de recevabilité.
- 89 MB: Donc d'après vous...parce que cette fameuse loi Fioraso passée en 2013 a créé
90 beaucoup de bruit=
- 91 P: =Ouais enfin c'est complètement délirant. Enfin de mon point de vue ça n'a aucun
92 sens. Aujourd'hui bien sûr que le français reste notre langue et il faut la cultiver, je
93 suis d'ailleurs assez frappé du fait que... Alors ce qui est vrai c'est ce que disent les
94 enseignants aussi, beaucoup d'étudiants en licence n'ont pas les prérequis en français,
95 ils n'ont pas la capacité d'exprimer correctement leurs idées, leurs connaissances en
96 français. Donc là c'est vrai qu'il y a une vraie difficulté, mais ce qui est très complexe
97 là-dedans c'est que si ces prérequis-là ils ne les ont pas obtenus pendant toutes leurs
98 années de lycée et de collège c'est impossible qu'ils les acquièrent à l'université. Donc
99 c'est quand même un petit peu un faux problème de penser que... Alors bien sûr que
100 là rajouter de l'anglais en licence pour ces étudiants-là c'est impossible mais enfin il
101 faut juste se rappeler que... Malheureusement beaucoup de ces étudiants vont
102 échouer parce qu'ils n'ont pas la maturité intellectuelle ou les connaissances acquises
103 ou suffisamment solides pour que ça marche. En fait il faudrait régler ce problème
104 dans ce que l'on appelle le moins 3 plus 3, c'est-à-dire les années qui précèdent
105 l'entrée à l'université. Moi je pense que c'est les mêmes étudiants qui sont en grande
106 difficulté en français qui sont dans l'incapacité d'avoir le niveau B2 en anglais bien
107 sûr. Alors moi je ne pense pas qu'il faille systématiser l'anglais en licence parce que
108 ça va nous mettre en difficulté mais au fond les mêmes causes produisant les mêmes
109 effets c'est quand même un petit peu les mêmes carences qu'on retrouve.
- 110 MB: Mmm. J'imagine qu'un des buts c'est de monter dans les classements
111 internationaux=
- 112 P: =Oui je suis d'accord, bien sûr.
- 113 MB: Par rapport aux universités britanniques ou américaines quel est le point attractif
114 de ces formations?
- 115 P: Alors il y a plusieurs aspects dans cette question-là bon... De toute façon par
116 rapport aux universités anglo-saxonnes, on a un handicap qui est quand même celui
117 de la langue parce que malgré tout, les universités anglo-saxonnes vont être très
118 attractives pour tous les pays où on parle spontanément ou relativement facilement
119 l'anglais et il y en a quand même beaucoup hein...je ne parle pas des pays
120 scandinaves mais enfin il y a toute une série de pays que ce soit l'Inde, le Pakistan,
121 où on parle l'anglais très facilement...beaucoup pays du Moyen-Orient aussi,

122 beaucoup de pays d'Afrique... Donc c'est vrai qu'il y a déjà un aspect une espèce
123 d'avantage linguistique. Après c'est vrai qu'il y a un handicap c'est souvent les droits
124 d'inscription donc là on peut éventuellement en faire un avantage sachant que cette
125 question des droits d'inscription des étudiants étrangers reste une question assez
126 ouverte, qu'est-ce qu'il faut faire de ça? Est-ce qu'il faut jouer là-dessus, alors
127 sûrement dans un certain nombre de cas notamment vis-à-vis d'Afrique, du Maghreb,
128 de l'Afrique noire, c'est un atout, bien entendu, parfois ça ne serait pas un handicap
129 d'avoir des frais d'inscription plus élevés et il y a d'ailleurs des endroits c'est pas notre
130 cas hein, dans des écoles d'ingénieurs où il y a des droits d'inscription pour les
131 étudiants internationaux qui sont bien plus importants [###]. Après, nous dans notre
132 compétition avec les autres universités c'est vrai qu'on se base beaucoup sur notre
133 environnement naturel qui est un atout, notre environnement scientifique qui est un
134 atout aussi, voilà, donc finalement on peut faire certainement mieux mais on a quand
135 même quelques résultats d'ores et déjà. Ceci étant, dans le projet IDEX on a toute
136 une série de mesures et de projets pour renforcer ça donc on est bien conscient qu'on
137 peut faire nettement mieux.

Sample of interview transcript with Minister Fioraso

Date: 18/05/2015

Time: 3.30pm

Location: 7 rue Voltaire, 38000 GRENOBLE

- 1 MB: *Je sais que cette loi est l'aboutissement d'une longue période de concertation.*
2 *Finalelement comment en est-on arrivé à cet article 2 et aux discussions sur les cours*
3 *en langues étrangères ?*
- 4 F: Alors d'abord il y avait la loi Toubon qui rendait illégal, hors certaines formations
5 européennes, la pratique de l'enseignement dans une langue autre que le français,
6 c'est pas forcément l'anglais mais dans une langue autre que le français, pour, c'était
7 le but, protéger le français, faire la promotion de la francophonie. Ça veut dire qu'un
8 certain nombre de formations à l'université étaient dans l'illégalité mais il y en avait
9 pas beaucoup, mais que dans les écoles en revanche y compris des écoles qui étaient
10 aidées par le ministère, des écoles conventionnées, et bien il y avait beaucoup
11 d'enseignants qui étaient en illégalité donc ça me paraissait hypocrite et puis il y a
12 différentes façons de regarder la francophonie. La francophonie je pense que bien
13 au-delà de la langue, la francophonie c'est une culture, ça veut dire qu'il faut que la
14 France continue à être attractive et continue, non pas de se sentir responsable, mais
15 à établir des passerelles plus équilibrées dans une période néocolonialiste avec des
16 pays qui ont été, ce que l'on appelle sous la zone d'influence, pour ça encore faut-il
17 que les...ça passe par les jeunes, ça passe par les échanges d'étudiants encore faut-il
18 que les jeunes étudiants africains de ces pays ou canadiens ou bref de tous ces pays
19 francophones continuent à venir étudier en France. On s'aperçoit qu'aujourd'hui y
20 compris l'élite africaine, commence à aller, enfin, massivement j'allais dire, vers les
21 universités anglo-saxonnes parce que l'anglais est considéré comme la langue
22 incontournable parce que, il y a cette attractivité, donc partons du principe que la
23 francophonie c'est aussi un état d'esprit avec des principes républicains, des
24 principes démocratiques, c'est aussi une culture commune, des valeurs communes,
25 une culture, j'allais dire une cuisine, j'allais dire... une littérature...enfin des choses
26 en commun, c'est aussi de nouvelles relations à établir qui soient dans la co-
27 publication, dans des co-recherches, dans des recherches communes et pas comme
28 avant où le savoir s'exportait de la France vers ces pays, là on est bien dans des
29 échanges, ce sont de pays aussi incidemment qui ont plus de 5% de croissance donc
30 c'est quand même pas inutile que la France puisse bénéficier de cette croissance et
31 pour qu'elle en bénéficie on sait bien que les relations qui s'établissent à l'âge des
32 études entre les jeunes qui sont amenés à avoir des responsabilités sont
33 fondamentales pour les coopérations à venir. Donc pour des raisons culturelles,
34 républicaines, démocratiques, économiques ça me paraissait tout à fait évident qu'il
35 fallait développer davantage dans les universités mais surtout en finir avec cette
36 hypocrisie qui fait qu'on avait toléré pour quand même une certaine élite dans les
37 écoles mais qu'on poussait des cris d'orfraies et c'était le cas pendant la loi quand
38 on voulait le démocratiser qu'il fallait davantage proposer de cours en anglais ce qui
39 ne voulait pas dire, loin de là, qu'on allait laisser tomber le français, je parle aussi
40 enfin l'anglais ou dans une autre langue, c'est-à-dire que dans les régions frontalières
41 ça peut être vers Toulouse de l'espagnol, ça peut être à Strasbourg de l'allemand,
42 tout dépend de la configuration géographique puis des spécialités qui sont des

43 disciplines et des spécialités qui seront enseignées dans les universités... En plus moi
 44 je suis convaincue que plus on maîtrise de langues étrangères mieux on maîtrise sa
 45 propre langue et sa propre culture parce qu'on a un panel de connaissances plus large,
 46 pardon un éventail de connaissances plus large, qu'on a des repères culturels aussi
 47 qui sont davantage internationaux et que du coup on comprend mieux d'où vient
 48 votre culture, on a de meilleurs outils de compréhension de sa propre culture et on
 49 maîtrise mieux du coup les mots, le langage, parce qu'on sait dans quel contexte
 50 culturel, social ils s'inscrivent. Voilà donc pour toutes ces raisons j'ai tenu bon sur
 51 l'article 2 où s'est développée une polémique comme seuls les Français savent le
 52 faire, on le voit sur le collège actuellement, c'est-à-dire totalement binaire, on
 53 regarde même plus le texte... parce qu'on avait mis des gardes fous, il fallait que les
 54 étudiants étrangers que l'on accueille suivent aussi des cours de français de façon à
 55 pouvoir s'exprimer à peu près correctement au moment où ils quittent la France, dans
 56 le même temps on a mis un réseau d'alumni avec Laurent Fabius, Ministre des
 57 Affaires Etrangères, on a mis en place avec le Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur
 58 et de la Recherche donc c'était un ministère où on a mis en place un réseau d'alumni
 59 c'est-à-dire d'anciens élèves pour développer ces réseaux... On a travaillé en lien
 60 avec les ambassades pour vraiment que ce réseau d'influence à l'étranger soit
 61 davantage utilisé, ce qui n'était pas le cas auparavant, et s'inscrire dans un contexte
 62 qui est un contexte international tout simplement. Et dans le même temps j'ai voulu
 63 développer Erasmus, tout ça ça a un lien c'était quand même un projet global, on
 64 s'est arrêté sur ce truc de la langue, tout le monde s'est bloqué, dans le même temps
 65 j'ai voulu développer Erasmus donc on a augmenté de 70% le budget Erasmus en
 66 particulier en y introduisant les étudiants et les lycéens des filières professionnelles
 67 et technologiques, pourquoi ? parce qu'ils viennent de milieux moins favorisés et
 68 que quand vous avez deux CV identiques, même formation, le fait d'avoir fait un
 69 séjour à l'étranger ou de maîtriser complètement une autre langue que votre langue
 70 native ça vous donne 60% de chances de plus d'être embauché. Or là il y avait une
 71 injustice sociale, la même que pour les écoles par rapport à l'université... voilà.

72 MB: *Justement sur ce point de démocratisation de l'accès à l'enseignement*
 73 *supérieur, vous avez parlé d'une certaine hypocrisie, puisque les cours en anglais*
 74 *existent depuis un certain temps dans les grandes écoles et donc autoriser les cursus*
 75 *en anglais permettrait de réduire cet écart. Lors de mes interviews avec des*
 76 *professeurs et des responsables de programmes internationaux dispensés en anglais*
 77 *certain m'ont dit qu'ils utilisaient l'anglais comme une forme de sélection si vous*
 78 *voulez, de filtre. Alors de ce fait est-ce que ça n'aggraverait pas du coup la sélection*
 79 *sociale et par ailleurs renforcerait cette espèce d'inégalité sociale qui était en fait*
 80 *un objectif au départ de cet article ?*

81 F: Bah d'abord je suis choquée que des profs aient pu vous dire ça. Ce qu'ils ont
 82 peut-être dit c'est qu'il fallait un certain niveau en anglais et qu'ils sélectionnaient
 83 là-dessus, je sais pas, j'essaie de comprendre ce qu'ils ont dit. S'ils ont dit ça comme
 84 ça c'est un peu scandaleux. Mais si en amont on enseigne bien l'anglais ou
 85 l'allemand ou l'espagnol, il faut pas se fixer sur l'anglais, une autre langue que
 86 l'anglais, si on enseigne de façon plus vivante qu'on ne le fait aujourd'hui à l'école
 87 primaire sans discontinuité dans les collèges, dans les lycées, de façon moderne...
 88 Dans les pays scandinaves, dès que les gamins savent lire ils leur font regarder des
 89 dessins animés sous-titrés et les gamins apprennent tout naturellement la musique de
 90 la langue, sa culture et c'est comme ça qu'ils apprennent tout naturellement une

91 langue. Donc je pense qu'il y a aussi une façon d'apprendre les langues vivantes
 92 autrement que comme dans les langues mortes qui ferait bien de se développer dans
 93 notre pays qui commence à se développer, mais qui n'est pas tout à fait développé.
 94 Donc c'est typiquement un faux problème, si en amont on apprend bien les langues
 95 étrangères on aura la représentation sociologique qu'il faut. En revanche on a un vrai
 96 problème à l'université qui est, c'est même plus la reproduction des disparités
 97 sociales c'est l'aggravation des disparités sociales c'est-à-dire qu'on a 23% de la
 98 population qui est considérée comme modeste ça va de précaire, minimas sociaux,
 99 jusqu'au bas de la classe moyenne. En première année d'université, pendant le
 100 premier cycle, on est à peu près à 13% en moyenne de représentation donc 13
 101 comparé à 23. En master on est plus qu'à 9%, 9,5%, en doctorat on est à moins de
 102 6% donc de fait la disparité elle existe déjà, cette disparité-là c'est en amont qu'on
 103 la combat, c'est pas l'université, elle est le résultat de parcours qui ont clivé, c'est
 104 pour ça que la réforme du collège elle est quand même intéressante. Parce que quand
 105 on voit qu'il y a 150 000 décrocheurs par an et qu'un certain nombre de gamins ne
 106 connaissent pas leurs fondamentaux et que dans les quartiers on va dire socialement
 107 aisés par rapport aux quartiers en politique de la ville il y a une inversion aux tests
 108 PISA le problème il est là, il est dans la ségrégation sociale et il est dans la façon
 109 dont on fait acquérir à des gamins qui ne sont pas issus de milieux privilégiés ou de
 110 milieux simplement de classe moyenne où il y a une certaine culture, maîtrise du
 111 langage, une maîtrise de certains codes, comment on fait accéder ces enfants aux
 112 fondamentaux, le problème il est là, à l'université malheureusement c'est trop tard
 113 même si par les bourses et tout ça j'ai essayé de compenser.

114 MB: *Et dans la version finale de cet article, enfin de la loi, il est écrit que les*
 115 *formations d'enseignement supérieur ne peuvent être que "partiellement" proposées*
 116 *en langue étrangère. Qu'est-ce que vous entendez par "partiellement" finalement*
 117 *qu'on peut interpréter un peu=*

118 F: =Bah c'était bien le but. Il fallait pour obtenir un vote et faire taire la polémique,
 119 il fallait quand même négocier sur les amendements puisque y compris à gauche pour
 120 être tout à fait clair, y compris au sein du parti socialiste, il y a toujours... les gens
 121 lavent plus blanc que blanc et la francophonie c'est la langue alors que pour moi la
 122 francophonie c'est pas seulement la langue, c'est bien au-delà de la langue. Mais au
 123 contraire plus on élargit le socle de la francophonie plus on a de chances d'élargir
 124 notre sphère d'influence. Donc ça ça fait partie des concessions qu'on est obligé de
 125 faire, des compromis qu'on est obligé de faire et un amendement a été voté et j'ai
 126 fait exprès de dire "partiellement" parce que comme ça ça laissait toutes libertés donc
 127 voilà, c'est volontairement vague.

128 MB: *Et au contraire il y a certains professeurs qui estiment que les mesures ne vont*
 129 *pas peut-être assez loin finalement et jugent que les décisions devraient être prises*
 130 *au niveau des établissements eux-mêmes. Pourquoi en fait faut-il qu'il y ait une*
 131 *politique linguistique au niveau national, de l'état ?*

132 F: Parce que il y avait la loi Toubon, donc il fallait bien, on peut pas corriger par
 133 ordonnance ce qui a été instauré dans la loi donc il fallait bien dans la loi faire en
 134 sorte que les profs ne soient plus dans l'illégalité. Moi ça me gênait beaucoup que
 135 des enseignants ou des présidents d'université qui éduquent des jeunes quoi soient
 136 dans l'illégalité donc on est obligé de faire une loi mais après la marge
 137 d'interprétation elle est entière c'est-à-dire si l'université décide de ne faire aucune,

138 d'être enfermée sur elle-même et de ne faire aucun enseignement dans une langue
139 étrangère. quelle qu'elle soit, elle peut le faire mais je donne pas cher de son avenir,
140 à mon avis elle ne sera pas très attractive, parce que les étudiants le demandent,
141 c'était plébiscité par les jeunes, ça je tiens à le dire, tous les sondages le montraient.
142 Les jeunes et les familles, on était au-delà de 75%.

143 MB: *Donc c'était un mouvement qui venait plutôt des=*

144 F: =C'était un mouvement qui venait, pas des étudiants parce que l'UNEF était
145 favorable et la FAGE aussi, non ça a été, toujours les mêmes, Finkielkraut, Bernard
146 Pivot, j'ai eu une discussion de trois quarts d'heure avec Bernard Pivot qui me disait
147 "oui mais le langage scientifique français doit s'imposer", je lui ai dit "oui mais c'est
148 trop tard, on a perdu la bataille", il y a vingt ans quand Chevènement avait voulu
149 faire une [####] scientifique française et puis il a été activé par des gens comme les
150 Québécois qui politiquement ont défendu le français mais pour des raisons politiques
151 et d'identité et qui du coup vivaient très mal ce qu'ils ressentaient comme un recul
152 du français alors c'était pas du tout ça donc j'ai passé énormément de temps en
153 explication, j'ai eu des discussions avec Antoine Compagnon, c'est vrai que parfois
154 les gens étaient tellement de mauvaise foi que j'ai pu être amenée à avoir des propos
155 sous forme de blague qui ont été mal compris du type évidemment on peut se
156 résoudre à être finalement 6 autour d'une table à parler de Marcel Proust alors que
157 j'adore Marcel Proust, c'est pas le sujet, c'est l'idée de dire qu'il vaut mieux être
158 nombreux à connaître Marcel Proust plutôt que de se retrouver un petit nombre de
159 puristes quoi, voilà.

160 MB: *Bon à la fin j'ai demandé aux professeurs quelle était un peu leur vision*
161 *d'avenir, certains pensent que les masters vont plus ou moins tous basculer en*
162 *anglais en tout cas il y en a de plus en plus qui passent du M2 au M1 etc....*
163 *Finalement, pour finir, quelle est vous, votre vision d'avenir pour l'enseignement*
164 *supérieur en ce qui concerne les langues d'enseignement ?*

165 F: Il peut pas y avoir de vision uniforme. Ça j'en suis convaincue, de la même façon
166 que je pense que l'arabe, l'hébraïque, toutes ces cultures doivent être davantage
167 enseignées, aujourd'hui la langue c'est quand même un moyen d'apprendre une
168 culture, donc d'une manière générale l'ensemble des langues vivantes dans toute leur
169 diversité doivent être davantage enseignées, enseignées et surtout comprises, c'est
170 pas seulement la langue pour la parler, c'est aussi la culture qu'il faut comprendre.
171 On est quand même dans une planète complètement mondialisée, que ce soit au
172 niveau de l'environnement, que ce soit au niveau de l'économie, on peut le regretter,
173 ça veut pas dire la confusion des cultures ça veut dire la compréhension des gens
174 entre eux. Moi je crois, c'est peut-être un peu idéaliste, mais je crois quand même
175 que la compréhension des cultures et en particulier quand ça passe par les jeunes ça
176 peut éviter quand même bien des malentendus, c'est pour ça, entre parenthèses, que
177 je suis contre le foulard à l'université parce que je pense que c'est une
178 énorme bêtise et que peu importe, ce qu'il faut c'est que les jeunes filles fassent des
179 études...

180 MB: *Vous avez souvent utilisé le mot "ambassadeur", que finalement les étudiants*
181 *étrangers seront les meilleurs ambassadeurs...*

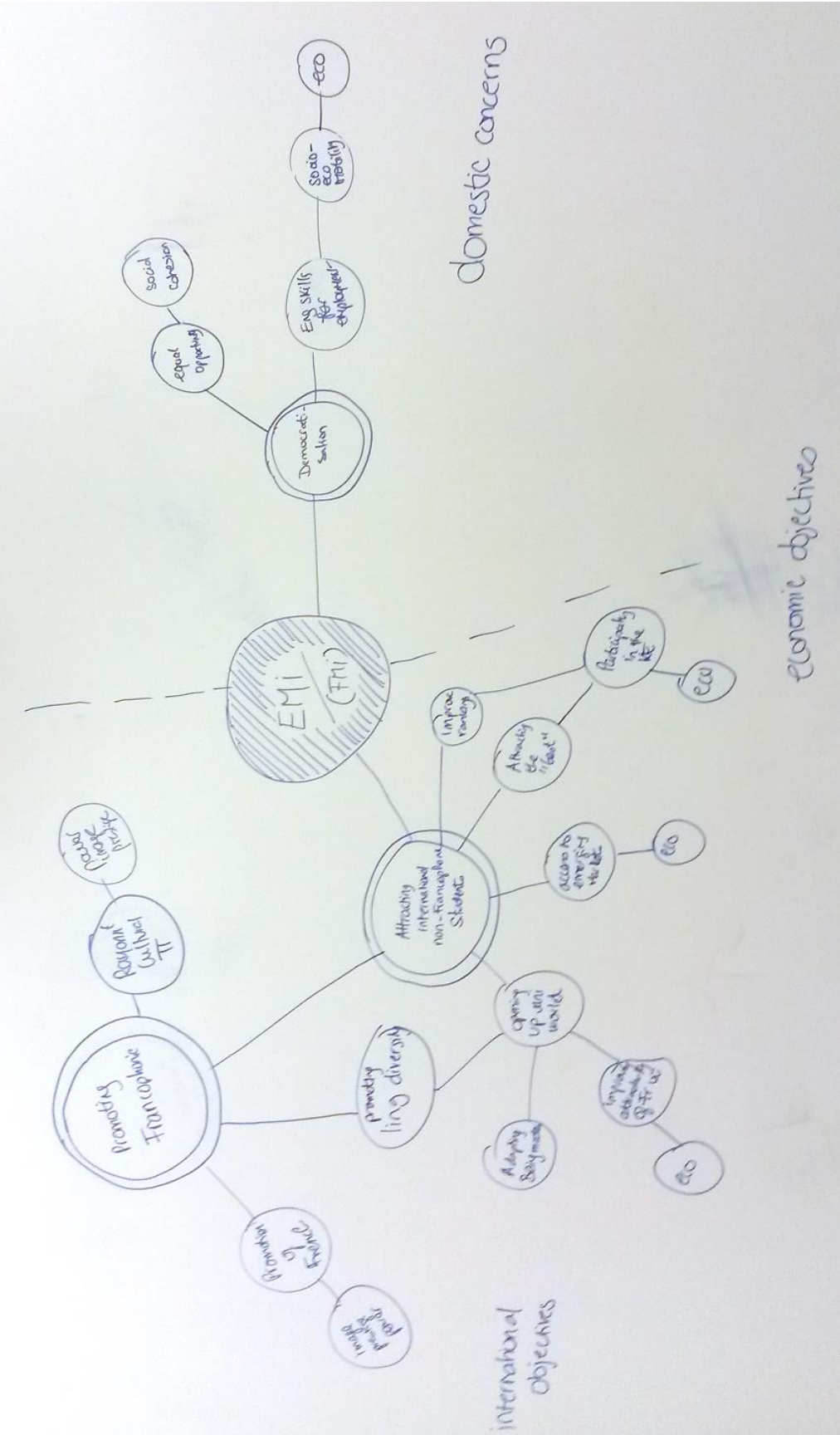
182 Oui, bien sûr, nos meilleurs ambassadeurs. Donc ce que je veux dire, chaque
 183 université est différente et c'est différent suivant les disciplines. Moi je comprends
 184 que pour la philosophie, pour la sociologie, pour l'anthropologie ce soit compliqué,
 185 c'est peut-être pas nécessaire de donner des cours en anglais, d'ailleurs Michel Serres
 186 qui était contre l'article 2 lui-même donne des cours de français à San Diego quand
 187 même, heureusement qu'à Berkeley on lui permette de donner des cours en français
 188 quand même parce qu'il y a des disciplines dans lesquelles la terminologie est
 189 extrêmement importante mais pour les sciences et la médecine moi j'ai quand même
 190 vu trop de congrès de médecine ou congrès scientifiques où les Français arrivaient,
 191 parce qu'on a pas un très bon système d'enseignement de langues vivantes dans le
 192 primaire ou dans le secondaire, il faut quand même le dire, on peut s'améliorer par
 193 rapport aux pays nordiques et donc j'ai trop vu de ces congrès où les scientifiques
 194 français arrivaient, faisaient une très belle présentation et au moment des questions
 195 ils répondaient complètement à côté, pourquoi, parce qu'ils ne comprenaient pas les
 196 questions, donc c'est quand même un sujet quand ça ne vous permet pas de vous
 197 valoriser ou alors il faut avoir un système de traduction efficace. En revanche je
 198 trouve ridicule, et je l'ai dit au CGI que les IDEX par exemple, la présentation des
 199 IDEX, qu'un système français financé uniquement sur fonds nationaux doive se faire
 200 en anglais je trouve ça débile. Mais bon...

201 MB: *A part les intérêts géopolitiques et économiques d'avoir des liens avec des pays*
 202 *étrangers quels sont les autres avantages aussi d'avoir des étudiants venant de pays*
 203 *émergents ?*

204 F: L'intérêt c'est quand même que ce sont des pays qui vont être amenés à se
 205 développer et que, ça permet aussi à des jeunes Français qui ont pas eu l'occasion
 206 forcément de voyager par le milieu socioculturel dans lequel ils sont nés de côtoyer
 207 d'autres cultures dès l'université et ça on sait bien que dans une activité
 208 professionnelle c'est extrêmement important, ça démocratise pour le coup. Je ne sais
 209 pas si ça remplace un séjour à l'étranger mais quand même ça permet de s'ouvrir à
 210 d'autres cultures que la culture dans laquelle on a grandi et ça c'est extrêmement
 211 formateur. Ce qui est formateur à l'université : le travail en groupe, le contact qu'on
 212 a avec les autres le fait d'être confronté à d'autres cultures. Moi je vois bien les
 213 dégâts, c'est une ancienne ministre qui vous parle, oui les dégâts, je le dis
 214 tranquillement, d'une certaine technocratie où chaque corps est responsable des
 215 disciplines au niveau des grandes décisions et des grands organismes d'état mais le
 216 monde est divers, le monde est varié, il faut avoir de la pluridisciplinarité, il faut
 217 avoir des cultures multiples et je pense que rien n'est plus asphyxiant que le
 218 corporatisme à tout point de vu. Et la meilleure arme contre le corporatisme et contre
 219 une vision, qui est une vision monolithique qui est jamais bousculée par d'autres, la
 220 meilleure arme c'est quand même les échanges interculturels et on sait bien que les
 221 enjeux des pays émergents ne sont pas les mêmes que les nôtres donc c'est essentiel
 222 que ça se passe.

223 MB: *Je crois que c'est à peu près tout...*

224 F: Je veux dire quand même c'est différent, les matières scientifiques et la médecine
 225 sont de mon point de vue différents des sciences humaines et sociales mais les
 226 sciences humaines et sociales doivent faire aussi l'effort de s'exporter.



DETAILS OF OBSERVATION

Time of observation :	Subject :
Start : Finish :	Lesson content :
Date :	Type of course (CM, TD, TP...):
Location :	Level of study (L1, L2...M2) :
	Classroom composition :
	Number of students + F/M :
	Student composition (mostly French/international, only French/international)
Classroom layout:	Other :

LECTURER PROFILE

Name:

Previous experience of teaching in English: YES ☐ If so how many years:NO ☐


First language:

Other languages spoken:

OBSERVATION NOTES

Teacher	
Students	
Course materials	
Course design/structure	
Language issues	
Classroom interaction	
General comments	

DETAILS OF OBSERVATION

<p>Time of class : 8am -10am</p> <p>Time of observation : Start : 7.55am Finish : 10.25am</p>	<p>Subject : Geophysical fluid mechanics</p> <p>Lesson content : Chapter 3 « Shallow water model-Linear barotropic waves »</p> <p>Type of course (CM, TD, TP ...): Cours magistral (i.e. lecture)</p>
<p>Date : 13/10/2015</p>	<p>Level of study (L1, L2...M2) : M2</p>
<p>Location : UFR Phitem Bâtiment A Salle 102</p> <p>Small room</p> <p>Blackboard with wooden school chairs</p>	<p>Classroom composition :</p> <p><i>Number of students:</i> 18 students (3 girls)</p> <p>12 students from the EFM Masters. 6 others from other Masters (ECE , which is also in English and Terres Solides which is in French)</p> <p><i>Student composition:</i></p> <p>All international apart from 2 French students. Others are from Ecuador, Spain, Lebanon, Ghana, Nepal, India, Pakistan, Germany.</p>
<p>Classroom layout:</p> 	

LECTURER PROFILE

Name: Stéphanie

Previous experience of teaching in English: YES

If so how many years (I ask this at the end of the class): programme was created in 2011 and she has been teaching since (4 years)

First language: French

Other languages: English

INFORMATION COLLECTED BEFORE AND AFTER THE CLASS

BEFORE (audio recorder not on):

I arrive in the classroom at 7.50am. I have not yet taken out my audio recorder. Two students come in and look at me, probably because I am an unfamiliar face. I ask them if they are here for the Masters of Environmental Fluid Mechanics they say « yes and you? ». I start explaining that I am here for research doing a PhD. « Oh are you a PhD student of Professor X? ». « No » I answer, explaining that I am in the education department at King's. I explain briefly what I am doing. The whole conversation is in English. I ask them where they are from. One of is from Ecuador (S1), the other from Spain (S2). « Do you mind if I ask you a few questions ». They agree and I start taking notes.

I ask them why they chose this programme. The student from Ecuador replies that he was interested in Fluid Mechanics as well as “the ocean” and that this programme provided that. He said that he googled Masters on line of Fluid Mechanics and that the website for this Master’s programme came up and then he decided to apply.

S2 says that he also chose the course because of the content (Fluid Mechanics) but also because of the city itself (and the mountains...). S1 agrees saying that location was also a reason for coming to the UJF. None of them mention the fact that it is because the course is in English.

I then ask them if they speak French. Both answer that they don’t speak French. I ask them if they would have chosen the programme if it had been in French. S1 instantly replies “no”. S2 is a bit more hesitant and says maybe, only if there were a few courses in French. I then ask them if they are learning French. S1 says that he isn’t learning French formally but « on the streets ». S2 does one class a week which he says is not enough.

Comment: The main reason for choosing this course does not seem to be because it is in English. The interest is primarily to do with the content of the course, notably the Environment and Ocean. It is possible that if the course had been in French they wouldn’t have considered it in the first place. Perhaps the fact that it is given in English is a given, seems normal.

I ask them if they have faced any challenges with the course being in English. They both agree that they have no difficulties, commenting that the professor’s English is « fluid » and easy to understand. S1 adds that knowing English is better for future jobs. I ask him what he plans to do he says probably a PhD.

Comment: I note the parallels between these comments and themes from the interviews of professors: reference to “no difficulties” and EMI being “easy”, “English for employability”.

OBSERVATION NOTES

	Description	Analysis
Teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slight accent but perfectly understandable She explains an equation on the board and comments « so voilà, alors... » and switches back to English. « très bien, très bien. Voilà...so I don't remember where exactly where we stopped... Voilà chapter...» Finishes an equation, looking back at it she comments « qu'est-ce que j'ai marqué là? » Someone walks into the room and has the wrong room so leaves, she comments « Il s'est trompé » She stops in the middle of a mathematical formula and says « Voilà, F au carré...Non zut » then switches back to English She is explaining a graph, she stops and says « voilà je me suis trompée». Her English is fluid and she speaks with ease at the same time as she is writing on the board. She hesitates over the choice of word « enlightened » and asks me about whether it is appropriate. She refers to scientist Poincaré, pronouncing it with an English accent. Directly asks me how to pronounce it. She pauses to search for a word which is to do the hemisphere. She seems a bit embarrassed/frustrated about this. She provides an explanation (in English) to a student who has asked a question, she asks him in French if he has understood (Voilà c'est bon?). She then makes a comment about how 	<p>Instances of French/English</p> <p>All the class content is given in English. However, she often uses French to make side comments. English is assigned a "front stage" role while French has a "backstage role". "English" is used for "doing the lesson".</p> <p>For example, she explains an equation on the board and comments « so voilà, alors... » and switches back to English. This happens a lot: « très bien, très bien. Voilà... so I don't remember where exactly where we stopped... »; «so voilà, alors... » then switches to English; finishes an equation, looking back at it she comments « qu'est-ce que j'ai marqué là? » ; someone walks into the room and has the wrong room so leaves she comments « Il s'est trompé » ; she stops in the middle of a mathematical formula and says « Voilà, F au carré...Non zut » then switches back to English, later on she is explaining a graph, stops again and comments « voilà je me suis trompée».</p> <p>Apart from these examples where French is used as a discourse marker, the whole class is done in English and she speaks the entire time in English.</p> <p>Direct references to me</p> <p>Despite trying to remain discreet in the back as a non-participant observer, my presence is commented on several times.</p> <p><u>Example 1</u></p> <p>The light of the projector is on the board and she wants to ask if it bothering the students :</p> <p><i>C : Is it a problem if the blackboard remains...enlightened, enlightened ? Je vais demander à Marianne, parce que Marianne elle parle SUPER bien anglais.</i> <i>M : Or lit up ?</i> <i>C : Pardon ?</i> <i>M : Lit up. [seeing no response] Lit....up.</i></p>

<p>« we do not speak French » and translates into English.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She finishes an explanation then realises the time: “voilà alors maintenant je vais être en retard évidemment”. • She speaks almost without notes and almost entirely in English. 	<p>C : Ah lit up ! Tu devrais toujours être là. Usually I have great help from [name of student]. Her vocabulary is better than mine. But next time [unclear]. Bon alors [goes back to course content].</p> <p><u>Example 2</u></p> <p>C : No I should say Poincaré [pronounced in French accent]. Marianne how would you say Poincaré?</p> <p>M : Poincaré [French accent].</p> <p>C : Ah ! Bon...je devrais pas faire des blagues je sais plus où j'en suis.</p> <p><u>Example 3</u></p> <p>It is almost the end of the lesson she is searching for a word to do with the hemisphere but can't find it. She comments :</p> <p>C : It's the end of the lecture [implying she is tired]. I'm looking at Marianne.</p> <p><u>Example 4</u></p> <p>She is showing a picture of a satellite image of the sea surface through the projector. She points to the image to show the longitude but then is unsure. A student intervenes to help.</p> <p>S : Yea I think the left is ###</p> <p>C : Je suis d'accord. Ah zut....Alors... [trying to understand the satellite image]</p> <p>No...[turning to me] Je suis désolée Marianne, d'habitude ça va mieux que ça. Voilà. I looked at this yesterday night but I did not check this. Alors qu'est ce qui se passe... No it seems to stop at 180 [degrees]. So I shall send you an email about this.</p> <p>The fact that she looks towards me for help in pronunciation or for questions of vocabulary shows how she positions me as the language expert. In so doing, she distances herself from the language expert. Example 3 shows how she is perhaps self-conscious about her proficiency in English. However, since she has already positioned herself as « not a language teacher » the effect is mitigated. Example 4 shows how she is very aware of my presence and is trying to make a good impression.</p>
---	--

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language management <p><i>C : Voilà c'est bon? ...C'était bien de poser la question...Since we do not speak French, it was good to ask the question.</i></p> <p>This comment is, I believe, largely triggered by my presence. Perhaps she is trying to show me how everything is done in English. It is interesting how she corrects herself and translates her comment back to English. The comment "we do not speak French" reflects a monolingual interpretation of EMI. Regardless of whether this comment is triggered by my presence or not it shows how EMI is viewed in a monolithic way.</p>
Students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Ecuadorian and Spanish student are sitting together. The 2 French students are sitting together. • All questions are asked in English and all are by international students. • Students hardly speak to each other during the lecture and when they do I often cannot hear what language they are using. • The two French students are trying to figure out what she has written on the board "Qu'est-ce qu'elle a écrit?", then looks over to her neighbour's notes: "analogous?" (does not seem to know the word). • Note taking : equations and mathematical formulae (hardly any language) • No questions asked by the French students 	
Course design/structure/materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Handout in English (chapter 3) which also comprises photocopies from a book by Pedlosky (Geophysical Fluid Dynamics) which is also in English. • Teacher writes on blackboard with chalk but mostly equations (and occasional graphs) not much language on the board ("In the limit of $s \rightarrow \infty$") 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monolingual model <p>All course materials are in English.</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A few sentences but not many (e.g. "The phase velocity is not a vector. Along the x-direction the plans of constant phase propagate with velocity ». After 1 hour she uses projector but for image (sea surface, satellite picture) Mostly explanations of equations and how to solve them (« DHO divided by DY...). Writes equations on board and explains as she goes along in English. 	
Language issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> « Enlightened » « Hemisphere » « The carts, the maps I am referring to... » (« Carts » used for « cartes » in French but corrects herself straight away) At one points directly asks me « comment on dit faire un argument avec les mains ? » I answer : « make an argument with the hands ? » Mispronunciation of « x » (eeks vs. Eks) and these vs. this 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English is not really a problem <p>What is interesting is that she brings up language issues by directly asking me. The problems she identifies are only lexical and pronunciation issues. She only makes one vocabulary mistake but immediately realises and corrects herself ("Carts" instead of "maps"). For a 2 hour lecture these "difficulties" can be considered minor. On the whole she speaks with great ease and without notes.</p>
Classroom interaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International student asks question in English: "Just for clarification..." Teacher replies: "Oui, d'accord...." So in the notes..." She continues explaining in English then adds « voilà c'est bon ? C'était bien de poser la question.... Since we do not speak French, it was good to ask the question." The explanation in itself is always in English. Student: Can you write bigger? T: Oui le problème c'est que j'écris un peu petit, but I can invite you to sit at the front. Spanish student asks a question. T replies : 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited interaction <p>Despite the class being relatively small (18 students), there is not much space for students to ask questions. Although the class is intended to be a lecture rather than a seminar, it is striking how there are few exchanges. It is also possible that my presence has affected classroom participation. This was a concern of mine so at the end of the class I asked two students about this (see below after the table).</p> <p>Students are passive and the teacher has the control. Lecturing in English is not problematic in this case because the teacher is fully in charge and speaking at them. The few exchanges which do take place are indeed more problematic. The teacher does not for example understand a question from a Pakistani student. She has to ask him to repeat several times. This may be perceived as face threatening act by him in the sense that this breaks the communicative flow.</p>

<p>T : I wouldn't speak of...Enfin non...you can't...je, je...it's simply that... [explanation continues].</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A student from Nigeria makes a comment and then a student from Ecuador picks up on his point and continues in English. The teacher replies "Je ne sais pas". The student from Ecuador finishes his argument and she replies "d'accord" and then says the best thing is to check in the scientific articles. • A student from Pakistan asks a question which I cannot understand, his accent is very strong (my lack of scientific vocabulary does not help). The teacher doesn't seem to understand either. He reformulates his question several times and she asks him twice « what do you mean by ###? atmosphere? ». Finally, she answers him. • After 27 min only one question. Hardly anybody talking during the lecture but when they do it is in English. Most of them are whispering and I cannot make out which language they are speaking. • Only 9 questions during the 2 hours. 	<p>Although there are only 9 questions in 2 hours, some students do not hesitate to interrupt the teacher to ask a question or make a comment, thereby prying open space for interaction.</p> <p>Example 1 S: [interrupting teacher] <i>Speaking in terms of magnitude, I always thought thought that ###=</i> T: <i>=In terms of of?</i> S: <i>Magnitude. The the wave lengths are the size of these ###. I know we are like 1000 kilometres in the atmosphere ### [Sound unclear]... analyse the weather map during the ### but are they of the same magnitude in the ocean, is that the conclusion?</i> T: <i>Alors. First I would say two things. You shouldn't speak of magnitude because...</i> [continues explanation and starts writing an equation on the board] S: <i>I am not talking about the ### I am talking about the #movement.</i> T: <i>Oui voilà c'est ça, it's exactly what I wanted to point out....</i></p> <p>Example 2 S: [interrupting her] <i>Professor I have a question. ### Well you mentioned that these Rossby waves do not have any influence on the equator, isn't it or not? Yes?</i> T: <i>Alors...mmm...did I say they had no influence on the equator?...</i></p> <p>Example 3 Teacher talking about Rossby waves. Student interrupts: S: <i>But they are only 6 cm amplitude?</i> T: <i>Oui I agree.... I agree that the phase velocity is extremely small...</i></p> <p>Example 4 Teacher talking about the ozone: T: <i>If you remember there was this ozone hole which appeared both of course on the Antarctic and...the...mmm...and the...</i> S: <i>You mean the Artic and the=</i> T: <i>=Oui c'est ça. In the Arctic and Antarctic in the... of course... in the...dans l'hémisphère d'hiver... the winter hemisphere. It's the end of the lecture, I am looking at Marianne. So it can be winter hemisphere...</i></p>
--	---

		<p><u>Example 5</u> Students asks question: T: <i>Oui bien sûr. But I would say that...</i></p> <p><u>Example 6</u> Spanish student asks a question. T replies : T : <i>I wouldn't speak of...Enfin non...you can't...je, je...it's simply that... [explanation continues].</i></p> <p><u>Example 7</u> International student asks question in English: S: <i>Just for clarification...</i> T: <i>Oui, d'accord.....So in the notes...</i></p> <p>All these examples show how French is used during interaction. She usually uses French at the beginning of her answer to acknowledge the question then switches to English for the actual answer. Apart from example 4 ("hémisphère d'hiver") French is only used for comments which are unrelated to the course topic.</p>
General comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teacher speaks fluidly and with ease and without notes (speaks while writing on board- no pauses). Very much "scientific English" main verbs "divide, equal etc." Seems to struggle a bit more when answering questions, more hesitations, however the same could happen in French. Very little interaction and participation. Aware of my presence—seems to feel self-conscious about her English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Monolingual EMI Although the data shows that French is used throughout the class, the way that it is used indicates a monolingual interpretation of EMI. French is positioned in the background and English is foregrounded as the only acceptable medium for delivering the content. On the whole during the lecture, language does not seem to be a problem (however keeping in mind that I cannot observe what CANNOT be said). She speaks for over half an hour non-stop without any apparent difficulty. Her style of English is very much what she described in the interview as « scientific English ». Most of the lesson consists in explaining mathematical equations and the recurring verbs are "divide, equal etc." Despite limited interaction with students, she seems to answer all questions without much difficulty. Native speaker authority My presence certainly has had an effect on the usual proceedings of the class. The fact that I am a researcher from a UK university and that I am half British and

	live in London positions me as the « native speaker ». I sense that I am seen as the « language expert ».
--	---

AFTER THE CLASS:

The class has just ended. Two students are sitting behind me. I ask them where they are from. One is from India, the other from Nepal. I ask them « would you say that today's class was a typical class » (wanting to know if my presence changed anything). They both look at me perplexed. I rephrase « Would you say this class is similar to your usual classes? ». One of them says he doesn't understand what I am asking. I try again asking them if the class is like the other weeks. I explain « If I came in next week would I see something similar? In terms of participation, amount of speaking by teacher and students ... ». « Oh yes, yes » the Indian student replies. I think he has understood my question but I am not sure. The other student is still looking at me (slightly puzzled) but doesn't say anything.

Comment: English proficiency might not be the problem. It could be that my question is not clear. However, my impression is that they are not very fluent in « conversational » (i.e. every day) English but rather have a very technical knowledge of English and are highly proficient in "scientific English".

I then turn to the student who is next to me in the middle of putting his notes into his bag. He is from Pakistan. I noticed him earlier. I ask him why he chose this course. He replies it is one of the best for Fluid Mechanics (which is his background) and refers to the « education standard ». He likes the programme because of all the available options. He says that he doesn't speak French but that the previous year he had to take some classes in French but that it was « terrible » (repeated twice) because he could not understand anything.

As I am on my way to go to the front of the classroom, three students are standing there. They are all from Lebanon. They say they chose UJF because their university has a partnership/agreement with UJF and that they didn't really have a choice. They also mention the «environmental » aspect which they found attractive. They tell me that the fact that is was in English is only a secondary reason. One of them specifies he has a B1 level in French (implying he could follow courses in French) but that in Lebanon they studied in English so it is easier for them. (I later ask the professor about this partnership later and she says there is an agreement with the university of Beirut. They send students to do their final year at the UJF and they graduate with a degree from both universities).

The professor is still busy answering questions at the front of the room. I take this opportunity to speak to one of the French students. Again I ask him what made him choose this course. Like most of the others, he immediately starts talking about the fact that he liked the content of the course, that it was focused on physics as well as the environment and he was interested in la « méca des fluides ». (The conversation is held in French). He then says that the fact that the course is English allows him to mix with all the international students and then he adds that he chose the course because of the possibility of doing an internship in the second semester. He has only ever had one class taught in English in M1 (because he said the professor was Russian and not good enough to teach in French). He tells me courses in English are more tiring for him and says that professors are probably also more tired. However, for him English is not really a problem. Even if there is a word he does not understand he can just ask one of the international students.

Comment: Students seem to enrol in EMI programmes primarily because of the content of the programme.

I have just asked the professor how long she has been teaching in English and she starts telling me how at first she was « inquiète » to give classes in English. I am now standing at the front of the classroom next to her and all the students have left. I fumble in my bag for the audio recorder and switch it on. She explains that at first she took an English language class but that is wasn't very useful:

S : Pour me préparer j'ai suivi un cours de langue dans le cadre de la formation continue et... je me suis aperçue, à mon avis ça ne servait pas à grand-chose...[###]. C'est aussi très bien pour moi parce qu'avant quand j'allais dans un colloque en anglais il y avait toujours une petite phase de remise dans le bain de l'anglais alors que là comme je parle anglais tout le temps, enfin il y a plus cette phase-là, donc pour moi c'est vraiment très bien=

Comment: Note the metaphor of the bath is brought up again. The more you swim in English the easier it becomes.

M : C'est une espèce d'immersion en fait=

S : C'est une espèce d'immersion et qui... bénéficie à mon travail de recherche également. Ce que je pensais pas au début, enfin je...c'est un.... 'side effect' hein que j'imaginai pas et qui est extrêmement positif. [...]

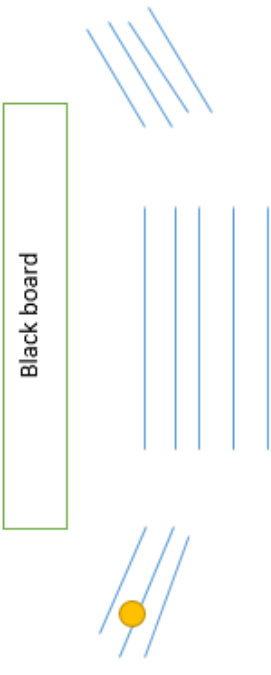
M : Et votre recherche, enfin dans les labos etc. vous vous... la phase de réflexion, de conceptualisation etc. se fait quand même en anglais ?=

S : =Ah non.

M : //C'est-à-//. Vous parlez en quelle langue ?

- S : //Non//. Ah pardon. Quand je suis avec mes étudiants ?
- M : Non au labo par exemple, coté recherche...
- S : C'est un laboratoire français hein=
- M : C'est un laboratoire français oui.
- S : C'est un laboratoire complètement français. Cependant, tous les étudiants en ce moment sont étrangers tu vois. J'ai un étudiant indien, une étudiante américaine, donc ça c'est en collaboration je les vois une fois par semaine [...] donc tu vois ça veut dire que toute la discussion avec mes étudiants c'est finalement en anglais.
- M : Et avec les collègues français ça sera en français ?
- S : : Bien sûr. Comme tu peux l'imaginer.
- M : //Oui oui oui//
- S : //[unclear]// en France... Quand j'étais aux Etats-Unis... On peut faire ça mais très vite on trouve ça un peu prétentieux, tu vois, très vite on trouve que c'est un peu snob de parler en anglais à un... compatriote finalement, et là dans le labo si tu parlais en anglais ça serait considéré un peu ridicule. //[unclear]//
- Comment: While in the interview she claimed that "everything" was in English here she tells me that French colleagues will obviously speak French together in the science lab. She explains that it would be considered a bit ridiculous and pretentious to use English.*
- M : //[laughs]// Donc en fait on utilise les deux. Avec les internationaux l'anglais et les collègues français le français=
- S : Bien sûr oui. Bien sûr.
- M : Ok, ok , ok. D'accord.
- After the end of the class I ask the professor if I can come to a TD (travaux dirigés, i.e. seminar) because I would like to see what a seminar looks like compared to a lecture. She tells me that there are unfortunately no TD because of lack of funding so she gives out exercises for homework with the answers and if the students have any questions they can go and ask before or after a lecture.

DETAILS OF OBSERVATION

Time of class : 8am -9.30am Time of observation : Start : 7.50am Finish : 9.30am	Subject : CH110 Lesson content :
Date : 16/10/2015	Type of course (CM, TD, TP ...) : Cours magistral (i.e. lecture)
Location : A2 DLST (big amphitheatre)	Level of study (L1, L2...M2): L1
Classroom layout: 	Classroom composition : Number of students + F/M : around 45 Student composition (mostly French/international, only French/international): Mostly French (a few international/"bilinguals")

LECTURER PROFILE

Name: Carl

Previous experience of teaching in English: YES

If so how many years (I ask this at the end of the class): 10 years teaching in Canada

First language: English

Other languages: French

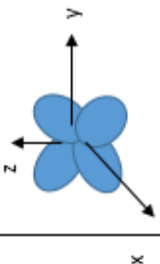
It is 7.45 am and I enter the DLST building. I know this building well because this is where I used to teach “scientific English” in 2010-2011. I enter the room which is a big amphitheatre which seats over 150 people. The students start all entering gradually. This is the largest class that I am going to observe.

As students are coming in, two girls sit behind me. I turn round and briefly tell them who I am then ask them why they chose the international programme. One replies because it's in English and says “c'est un avantage de parler anglais”. I ask why and she replies “c'est la langue de la recherche”. So I ask them if this is what they want to do and both say yes. The second girl adds that she likes the fact that they are a small group (“groupe réduit”) who have been selected and that they are not “perdu parmi tous les autres”. I then ask them if it is difficult to follow classes in English. One mentions that she finds it difficult taking notes and listening at the same time. She also says that she does not know what is important and what to write down. I ask them a last question about their level in English. They both tell me they are not able to express themselves in English so they just don't ask questions (“ça vient plus difficilement les questions en anglais”). They mention a few French professors whose English is “incompréhensible” but they also say that in general they find Carl more difficult to understand than other French teachers because of his expressions and the fact that he speaks quickly. I thank them since the class will begin soon.

As all the students are busy chatting and sitting down, Carl writes on the board “Still Carl” (which I later find out during the class is because he insists on being called Carl rather than “Monsieur”). He then starts writing out the plan for the lecture (all in English) with all the sections they are supposed to cover. When he is finished he looks to the class and says “Remplacez la langue de Molière par la langue de Shakespeare” to signal the beginning of the class. He then pauses and comments: “I could say the Queen's English but I don't speak the Queen's English”.

Comment: The comment in French is one of the only instances of French. He is signalling that French must be now put away so that the lesson can begin. By referring to the la langue de Molière and la langue de Shakespeare he is placing the two languages on equal footing. However, for the duration of the lesson he asks that English temporarily take the “front stage” and French the “backstage”.

OBSERVATION NOTES

Teacher	Description	Analysis
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Strong American accent• He talks about how there is a lot of material to cover before the mid-term exam• He discusses possible questions on mid-term• He then goes over the objective of the lecture: talks about the periodic table, atomic orbitals, the significance spin• 2'40 Introduces me to students• Starts talking about orbitals: "So these are AOs, in French they are OA" (French accent)• Compares a chemistry process to a "see saw"• Explains content with writing functions on boards and drawing graphs• Colloquial expressions "don't get too hung up on the math, you don't really need all those details" (explaining function)• Shows pictures of atomic orbital ("I like these pictures mainly because they're pretty. It's always nice to have pretty things in colour")• While he is drawing orbitals on the board he stops speaking and the noise goes up significantly 12'• Hands out materials with graphs. (gives me a copy)• Comments about the how French textbooks are outdated compared to English textbooks which don't do that anymore 16'• 17' He asks the class: "What's going on there? Why did the probability density fall to zero?...Don't know? It fell to zero..." (No one replies).• 25' He starts singing a song in English about 4 leaf clovers because his 3D orbitals drawing looks like one. By the looks of things the students appear to not know what a clover is or why he is singing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Cultural references <u>Example 1</u> "The 3D orbitals...[drawing on board]...there is the d, x, y orbital, the d x y orbital looks like a four leaf clover. Ah! There's an old song... [starts singing] I'm looking over a four-leaf clover that I overlooked before...Ok. Anyway. It looks like a four leaf clover..."<u>Example 2</u> Reference to a folk song "A fox went out on a chilly night"<u>Example 3</u> Refers to the history of Canada and "la Nouvelle France"<u>Example 4</u> Asks the class if anyone has seen "the Last of the Mohicans"• Linguistic references <u>Example 1</u> "So these are 'A' 'O's, in French they are 'O' 'A'" [French accent]<u>Example 2</u> "That's the highbrow way of doing it. That's the posh way of saying it."<u>Example 3</u> "I actually hope that the next language of science is not Chinese because we've

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explaining radio density function. Asks if there are any questions then "Are you happy with that? If you're not happy with that and you have questions or comments?..." Then a French student asks a question: "I have a question about..." 33' Gives the story about how scientists developed a theory: "So there's more to this story. Apparently Goudsmit and Uhlenbeck left their paper with their professor, they went and talked with Wolfgang Pauli, who was a BIG shot at the time and Wolfgang Pauli said "nonsense, GARBAGE! If this were true, given the size of the magnetic [...] it would have to be rotating faster than the speed of light which is IMPOSSIBLE" So Goudsmit and Uhlenbeck came back to their professor and said "don't submit the paper!" and he said "well... I submitted it". 41" I think in French they tend to say "spin up" and "spin beta" a little bit more often, but sometimes they say "spin up" [French accent] "spin down" [French accent]. In English I think we say spin up and spin down more.... I guess actually in French you would say "l'électron a un spin up" 43" "Up" the one word that my mother had to work many long hours to learn how to pronounce correctly in English... Ok... 43' 46" more lively, draws and explains the "Pauli principle" 48'30 shows how to calculate equation and comments "that's the highbrow way of doing it" 50 'It just reminds me of this Chinese character for discord. Anyway. 55' "You know how to construct electron configurations for atoms... my goodness you're an educated bunch!" 57" He compares the cloud of electrons to a fluffy cotton ball (talking about the orbit) 58' reference to a folk song "A fox went out on a chilly night" (to discuss how the sun is not going to appear so brightly through the fog) 59' Mentions that he has several periodic table including one in Chinese. He continues "I actually hope that the next language of science is not Chinese because we've worked for years to make sure that the symbols in the periodic table come from Latin so they're all the same in all the different languages." Tells an anecdote about how 2 art students designed a periodic picnic table and won a contest to get it built ad put in front of the chemistry building (shows picture) 1'01 Talks about a Russian chemist from the 1800s 	<p>worked for years to make sure that the symbols in the periodic table come from Latin so they're all the same in all the different languages"</p> <p><u>Example 4</u> [after drawing something on the board] "It just reminds me of this Chinese character..."</p> <p><u>Example 5</u> "We can draw a (##) [French word]... there's no word in English that I know for this"</p> <p><u>Example 6</u> "I think in French they tend to say "spin up" and "spin beta" a little bit more often, but sometimes they say "spin up" [French accent] "spin down" [French accent]. In English I think we say spin up and spin down more.... I guess actually in French you would say "l'électron a un spin up"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Colloquialisms <p><u>Example 1</u> "Don't get too hung up on the math, you don't really need all those details"</p> <p><u>Example 2</u> "My goodness you're an educated bunch!"</p> <p><u>Example 3</u> "So if you don't know where the room is just tag along"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anecdotes
--	--	---

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1'07 "This is much used much abused table" • He has been ignoring the noise so far but eventually says "Les filles s'il vous plaît" 1'16 • 1'23 and we can draw a (###) (French word)... there's no word in English that I know for this • 1'24 He asks "any idea why we call it...?" Then answers the question himself • Reference to Norwegian wife and daughter. • Refers to the history of Canada, la Nouvelle France • Asks the class if anyone has seen the Last of the Mohicans • Blows up balloons to illustrate a point and then throws them to students • "So if you don't know where the room is just tag along" 	<p><u>Example 1</u> Story about Goudsmit and Ulhenbeck</p> <p><u>Example 2</u> Story about Russian chemist from the 1800s.</p> <p><u>Example 3</u> Story about the periodic picnic table.</p> <p>Throughout the class the references to songs, films, and historical facts make the class culturally rich. His comments about the linguistic differences between French and English and the allusions to other languages not only show his breadth of knowledge but also show language awareness and sensitivity. It also in a sense shows that he values other linguistic resources. Although he makes fun of the French accent he does this in a very light-hearted way. The fact that he is so at ease in English means he can go off topic and include stories and anecdotes in his lecture (native speaker advantage?).</p> <p>• Use of French</p> <p><u>Example 1</u> "Les filles s'il vous plaît" Uses French to draw attention. Metaphorical code-switching to signal change of "stage".</p> <p><u>Example 2</u> Linguistic comments about the difference between French and English</p>
--	---	---

Students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The students at the back are busy talking in French. • 35' Volume of students is very loud. They are all talking in French so teacher has to raise his voice but ignores them. • First two rows are fairly silent, back rows are noisy • Students playing with balloons and one boy draws a face on one of them and throws it back to the teacher who smiles at the drawing. Then a balloon pops and everyone laughs. • They copy everything he writes on the board (while talking). • Students not paying attention, they are all talking in French, there are laughing • Despite the noise the students seem to like the teacher and there seems to be a good relationship between them 	
Course materials/design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One hand out with graphs • Blackboard- a few sentences but graphs and numerical values • Projector (transparent) drawing and tables (when explaining a table, speaks quite fast) • More notes about Pauli exclusion principle • Board- he draws figures, graphs with only a few words • CM followed by TD 	
Language issues	No issues	
Classroom interaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 33' Asks question in French (Why is it negative...) (quite fluent) • 38' French student (boy): S: Sir? //I don't under// T: //Mark, Mark// S: I don't understand how [...]... Can you explain me again?" • 50' French girl asks question. She speaks good English and asks a question without any problem. S: So, just say that like (###)[...] that means the wave function is equal to zero which impossible= T: Which is not allowed= S: Yea, so hence the (###) T: Yes. 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This same student again at 1.07 "Would you say that they are..." Her vocabulary indicates that she is very proficient in English "Is it akin to..." . She asks 4 questions in total. • Teacher asks question, a student answers "je sais pas" • 1'24 French student: "[teacher's name] you forgot 2 dots over the molecule" • 1'26 How do you differentiate between...(Irish student-he asks 2 questions) 	
General comments		<p>Teacher very much interested in language issues (reference to CLIL on his website + participation in podcast)</p> <p>The fact that he has lived and taught in Quebec for 10 years means he is aware of linguistic issues and policy. He mentions this in the interview.</p>

Joseph Fourier University
BIO 111 – 1st session examination - December 2013

1h30 – No calculators or documents allowed.

The examination consists of 3 independent questions and a multiple-choice test.
You should answer to question 1 to 3 on an examination sheet. Answers to the multiple-choice test should be reported to the corresponding printed questionnaire.
The questionnaire **has to be returned** even if not completed.

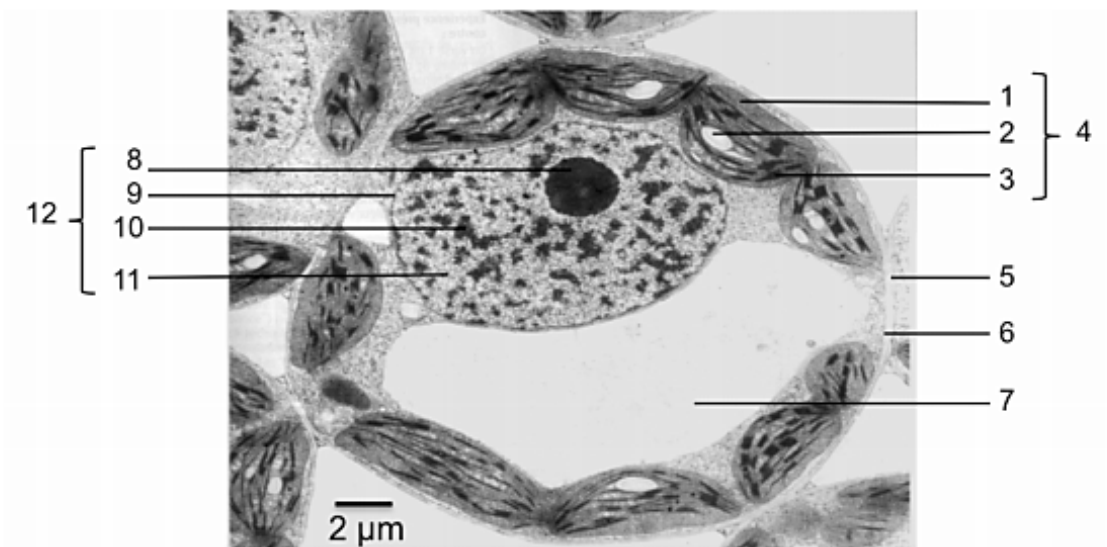
Please fill in now the **anonymity number** on your 2 sheets.

Question 1 (2.5 points):

Draw a diagram of the cellular envelope of a gram positive and of a gram negative bacterium.
Label your diagram.

What is the consequence of these different envelope structures for the Gram staining test?

Question 2 (3.5 points): Give a full title for the photograph below. Indicate labels corresponding to items 1 to 12. Indicate the final scale of the picture.



Question 3 (5 points):

Briefly describe the steps necessary to secrete a glycoprotein into the extracellular space. You should start with the protein synthesis from a mature mRNA and finish by describing its expulsion outside the cell.

Details on translation mechanisms are not requested. You should explain where the synthesis takes place, what intracellular compartments are requested, what kind of transport is involved, what main modifications happens in these compartments and what mechanism is involved to let the protein outside the cell.

You are encouraged to answer this question by a labelled diagram describing the succession of processes.

Maximum 1 page !!!

Multiple-choice test.

(30 questions; 9 points)

Each question has 5 different response proposals (a to e). Choose a **single proposal** among the five. Indicate your choice on the printed questionnaire.

IMPORTANT: To calculate your mark, we will consider that you might have chosen answers by chance. No negative points will be attributed if you give an incorrect answer. You should therefore answer all questions, even if you are not fully confident in your answer.

Microscopy

1. In light microscopy, resolution (Indicate the wrong proposal):

- a) depends on the wavelength used for observation.
- b) depends on the numerical aperture of the objective.
- c) depends on the magnification of the objective.
- d) is measured as the value of the separation limit.
- e) is lower than the resolution of electron microscopes.

Introduction lectures: cell constituents, biological membranes, cell organization, energy in cells

2. About nucleic acids. In which cell compartments can you find these nucleic acids? (Indicate the wrong proposal)

- a) primary (non mature) mRNA in the nucleus
- b) mature mRNA in the nucleus
- c) mature mRNA in the cytoplasm
- d) DNA associated with rough endoplasmic reticulum
- e) DNA in the mitochondria

3. Sugars are part of molecules and biological structures with important roles. Which ones? (Indicate the wrong proposal)

- a) viral capsid
- b) plant and bacterial cell wall
- c) DNA
- d) ATP
- e) Glycosylated membrane proteins

4. About lipids. Because of their properties, lipids play important roles in cells. (Indicate the wrong proposal)

- a) By definition, all lipids are hydrophobic, and some of the lipids are amphiphilic.
- b) Lipids are synthesized at the smooth endoplasmic reticulum and at the Golgi apparatus.
- c) Cholesterol is a membrane lipid.
- d) In some viruses, a lipid membrane is surrounding the capsid.
- e) Animal store lipids as triglycerides.

5. About proteins. (Indicate the wrong proposal)

- a) Membrane proteins are translated by ribosomes associated with rough endoplasmic reticulum.
- b) Secreted proteins are translated by free cytosolic ribosomes.
- c) One gene may encode several proteins.
- d) Protein tertiary structures result from the physico-chemical properties of the amino acids found in their sequence.
- e) During intestinal protein assimilation, enzymes -mainly pancreatic enzymes- hydrolyse proteins into peptides and amino acids so that they can be absorbed by enterocytes.

6. About biological membranes. (Indicate the wrong proposal)
- Biological membranes are fluid, so that their constituents can move within a membrane layer.
 - The plasma membrane contains numerous glycosylated molecules.
 - Gases such as CO₂ and O₂ cannot cross biological membranes by simple diffusion
 - All biological membranes have a selective permeability that results from the activity of proteins.
 - Although eukaryote cells appeared a long time after prokaryotes, their membranes share the same properties of fluidity and selectivity.
7. Indicate the correct proposal:
- The energy of an electro-chemical gradient of a molecule X can allow the transport of a molecule Y against its concentration gradient using symport.
 - The active transport always depends on ATP hydrolysis.
 - The group translocation (during which the transported molecule is modified) is a passive transport.
 - Channel proteins are transporters involved in simple free diffusion of molecules.
 - Transporters are pores inserted in the plasma membrane that allow the non-selective transport of molecules.

Bacterial cells

8. Which of the following assertions is true?
Photolithoautotrophs use:
- Organic materials as carbon source.

- Light as energy source and carbohydrates as source of reducing power.
 - an inorganic compound as an electron donor and carbon dioxide as carbon source.
 - Carbon dioxide as energy source and H₂O as an electron donor.
 - Carbon dioxide as carbon source and carbohydrates as electron donors.
9. In a case of commensalism the (indicate the correct answer):
- Microorganism feeds on organic matter from living organisms without causing disturbance or theft in their host.
 - Microorganism feeds on organic or plant materials decaying in the environment.
 - Microorganism and host are living in close cooperation with mutual benefit.
 - Microorganism uses resources that the host cannot consume.
 - None of the above proposals defines the commensalism.

10. Which of the following assertions is true?

- The nucleoid comprises several linear nucleic acids associated with proteins that ensure nucleic acids compaction.
- The nucleoid is a cellular compartment that contains the bacterial chromosome.
- The nucleoid consists of a circular DNA molecule associated with lipids that provide its compaction.
- The nucleoid consists of a circular DNA molecule associated with proteins involved in its compaction.
- The nucleoid consists of proteins and DNA, which are grouped at one pole of the prokaryotic cell.

Midterm CHI 110 International Thursday 6 November 2014

FAMILY NAME (please print)	FIRST NAME(S), MIDDLE INITIAL(S) (please print)	DISCUSSION SECTION (BIO-INT or PCM+CHBI-INT)

This is a 1 1/2 hour closed-book test. Personal documents are forbidden with the exception of language dictionaries which are allowed. A nonprogrammable calculator is recommended. Answers are to be given in the spaces set aside for this purpose and all pages are to be turned in at the end of the exam. One bonus points (5%) will be awarded if all responses are in English. One point may be removed if units are dropped at intermediate steps of any calculation.

IMPORTANT!!! Copies will be sorted by Discussion Section. At the beginning of the exam, you must indicate your Discussion Section in the box provided for that purpose.

Useful data appear at the end of these pages so that you may more easily detach them and use them during the exam.

Photoelectric Effect and Spectroscopy of One-Electron Atoms

A. A hydrogen atom is excited by light of wavelength $\lambda = 102.7 \text{ nm}$.

A1. To which part of the electromagnetic spectrum [radio, microwave, visible-ultraviolet (UV-Vis), X-ray, γ -ray] does this light belong? **(0.5 points)**

A2. What is the quantum number n of the excited state reached by absorbing this wavelength? **(0.5 point)**

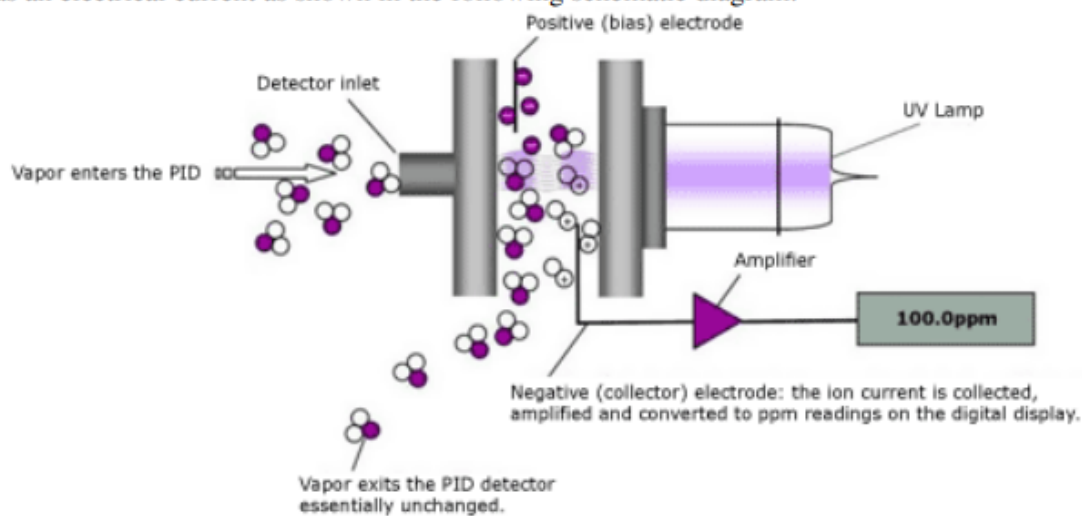
Midterm CHI 110 International Thursday 6 November 2014

A3. Give all the quantum numbers (n, l, m_l) for all the atomic orbitals consistent with this quantum number n . **(4.5 points)**

A4. Draw two of these atomic orbitals. **(2 points)**

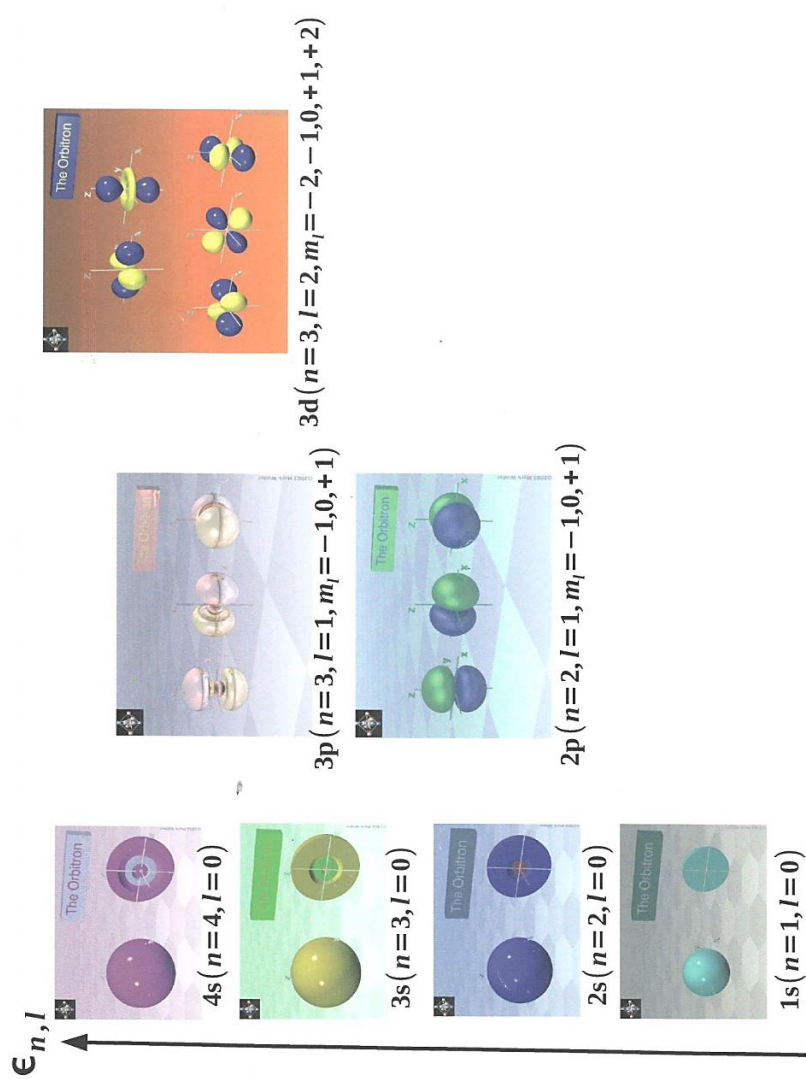
Midterm CHI 110 International Thursday 6 November 2014

B. A helium photoionization detector (PID) emits light in the vacuum ultraviolet down to wave lengths of 121.6 nm. This light is then used to ionize molecules which are then detected as an electrical current as shown in the following schematic diagram.



B1. How many protons, neutrons, and electrons are contained in ${}^4\text{He}^+$ and in ${}^4\text{He}^{2+}$? (1.5 points)

B2. To how many electron volts (eV) corresponds a 121.6 nm photon? Is this above or below the ionization potential of helium, 24.58 eV ? (1 point)



Chapter 3

Shallow water model - Linear barotropic waves

The purpose of this chapter is to derive a simple model of the dynamics of a shallow, rotating layer of homogenous ($\rho = \rho_0$), incompressible and inviscid ($\nu = 0$) fluid. As we shall see, the dynamics of large-scale motions in the atmosphere and in the ocean (with $R_0 \ll 1$) can be predicted from this simple model.

3.1 Geometry and notations

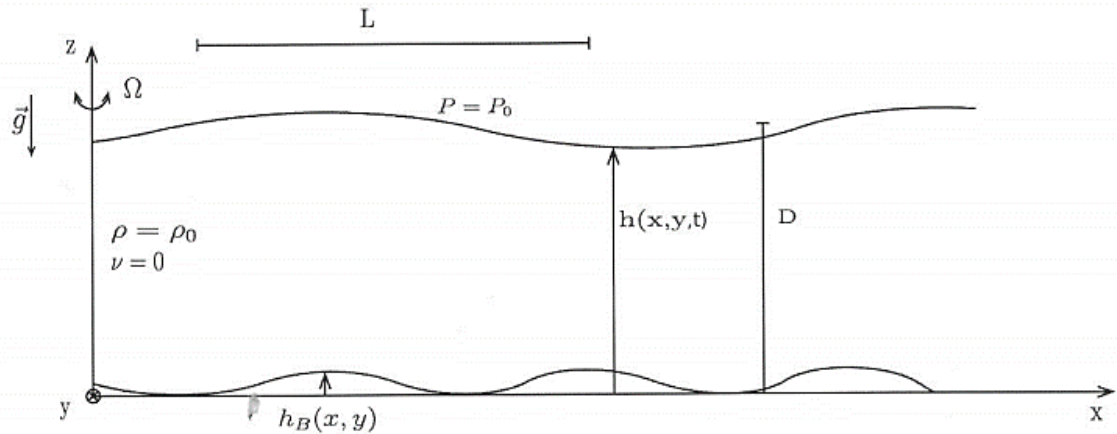


Figure 3.1: Sketch of the fluid layer and notations. All heights are measured from a reference horizontal plane taken as $z = 0$. These heights are the height of the topography $h_B(x, y)$, the height of the free surface $h(x, y, t)$. D is a characteristic value of h . The fluid may be water or air and, in the latter case, the "free surface" represents the tropopause.

We shall make a few assumptions:

- Although the depth of the fluid $h - h_B$ varies in time and space, we suppose that a characteristic value for the depth can be sensibly chosen. Call that number D (D could be chosen, for exemple, to be the average depth of the layer).
- We also suppose that D characterizes the vertical scale of the motion.
- Similarly, we suppose that there exists a characteristic horizontal length scale for the motion, which we call L .

The fundamental condition which characterizes shallow-water theory is :

$$\delta = \frac{D}{L} \ll 1.$$

We also introduce a characteristic scale for the horizontal velocity U , for the vertical velocity W and for the pressure fluctuations about the hydrostatic balance \tilde{P} .

3.2 The shallow-water equations

The shallow-water equations are inferred from the Navier-Stokes equations for an incompressible, homogeneous, inviscid fluid using the assumption $\delta \ll 1$.

3.2.1 Continuity equation

Let us perform a dimensional analysis of the continuity equation:

$$\frac{\partial u}{\partial x} + \frac{\partial v}{\partial y} + \frac{\partial w}{\partial z} = 0$$

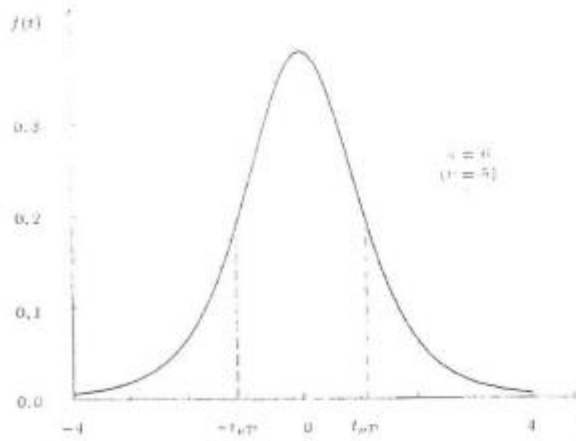
$$\frac{U}{L} \quad \frac{U}{L} \quad \frac{W}{D}$$

The dimensional analysis involves two terms, U/L and W/D . Let us estimate the relative order of magnitude of these two terms:

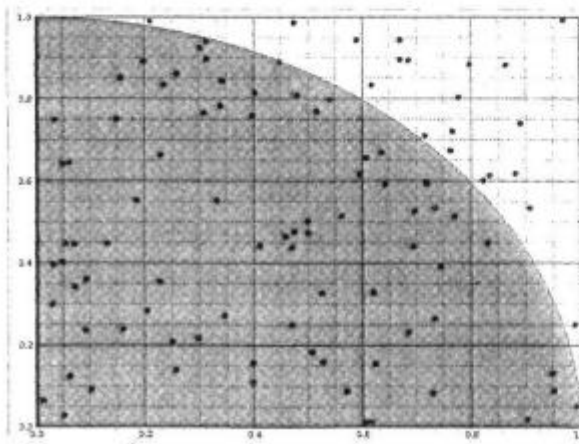
$$\frac{U/L}{W/D} = \delta \frac{U}{W}.$$

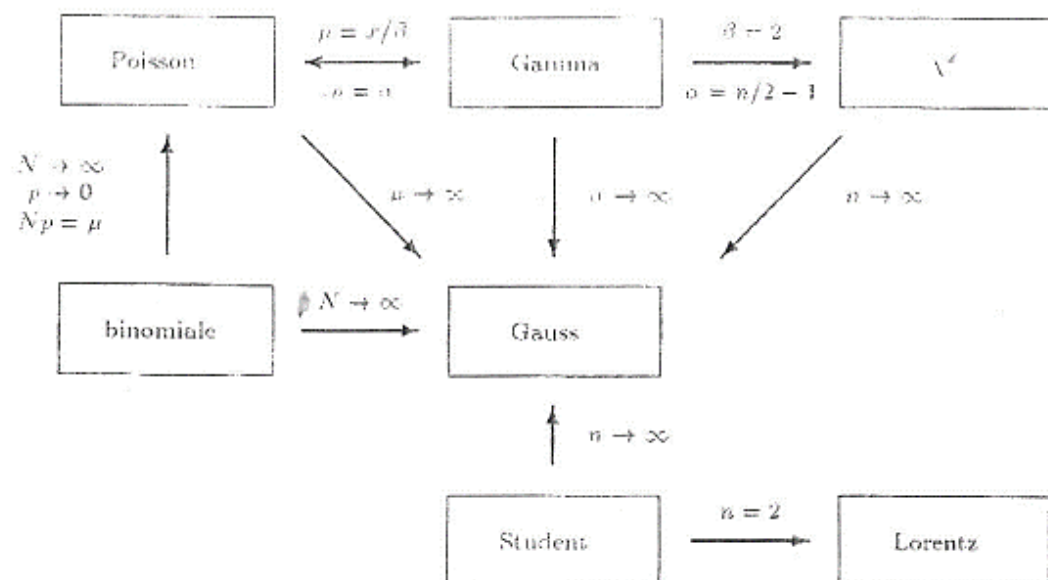
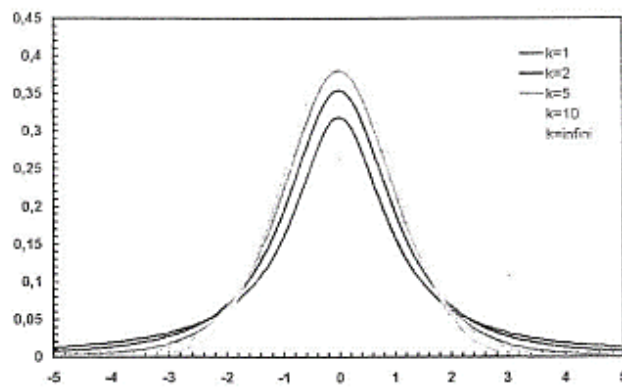
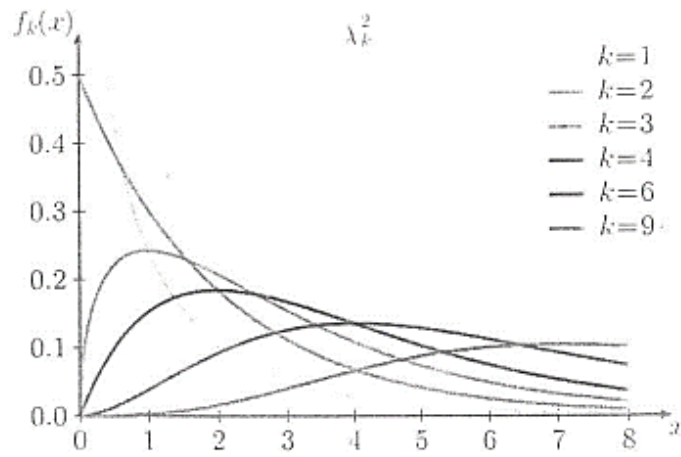
If $U \sim W$ then $[\partial u/\partial x] \ll [\partial w/\partial z]$ (where [...] represents the characteristic scale of the quantity within the brackets) and the continuity equation reduces to $\partial w/\partial z \simeq 0$, implying that w has the same value at any z level. For a flat bottom for instance, $w = 0$ for $z = 0$ so that w would be equal to 0 everywhere. The velocity field is thus two-dimensional, which does not correspond to the motions described by GFD.

In the following, we shall assume that $[\partial u/\partial x] \simeq [\partial w/\partial z]$, implying that $U/L = W/D$ namely $\frac{W}{U} = \delta$.



P	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.95	0.99
N									
1	0.325	0.727	1.000	1.376	1.963	3.078	6.314	12.706	63.657
2	0.289	0.617	0.816	1.061	1.386	1.886	2.920	4.303	9.925
3	0.277	0.584	0.765	0.978	1.250	1.638	2.353	3.182	5.841
4	0.271	0.569	0.741	0.941	1.190	1.533	2.132	2.776	4.604
5	0.267	0.559	0.727	0.920	1.156	1.475	2.015	2.571	4.032
6	0.265	0.553	0.718	0.906	1.134	1.440	1.943	2.447	3.707
7	0.263	0.549	0.711	0.896	1.119	1.415	1.895	2.365	3.499
8	0.262	0.546	0.706	0.889	1.108	1.397	1.860	2.306	3.355
9	0.261	0.543	0.703	0.883	1.100	1.383	1.836	2.262	3.250
10	0.260	0.542	0.700	0.879	1.093	1.372	1.812	2.228	3.169
11	0.260	0.540	0.697	0.876	1.088	1.363	1.796	2.201	3.106
12	0.259	0.539	0.695	0.873	1.083	1.356	1.782	2.179	3.055
13	0.259	0.538	0.694	0.870	1.079	1.350	1.771	2.160	3.012
14	0.258	0.537	0.692	0.868	1.076	1.345	1.761	2.145	2.977
15	0.258	0.536	0.691	0.866	1.074	1.341	1.753	2.132	2.947
16	0.258	0.535	0.690	0.865	1.071	1.337	1.746	2.120	2.921
17	0.257	0.534	0.689	0.863	1.069	1.333	1.740	2.110	2.898
18	0.257	0.534	0.688	0.862	1.067	1.330	1.734	2.101	2.878
19	0.257	0.533	0.688	0.861	1.066	1.328	1.729	2.093	2.861
20	0.257	0.533	0.687	0.860	1.064	1.325	1.725	2.086	2.845
30	0.256	0.530	0.683	0.854	1.055	1.311	1.699	2.045	2.756
∞	0.253	0.524	0.674	0.842	1.036	1.282	1.645	1.960	2.576





> Practical informations

> Practical informations



Bachelor of science in Biology

Grenoble
FRANCE









Contact

Programme coordinator: veronique.rossi@ibs.fr
 Secretary: marie-pierre.bassani@ujf-grenoble.fr

Postal address : Licence de Biologie Internationale
 DLST – 480, avenue CENTRALE
 DOMAINE UNIVERSITAIRE
 BP53
 38041 Grenoble Cedex 9
www-biologie.ujf-grenoble.fr

> Why Grenoble > Why Grenoble?

To be in Grenoble is a great opportunity to get immersed in a **multicultural community** studying arts and science. Grenoble's universities host 60 000 students with more than **9000 foreigners** each year. The city is the **leading research center** in France outside Paris area and is often described as the **"French silicone valley"** with booming high tech businesses. You will leave this university with a **fluent command of French** and a **new insight in French history, literature and way of life**.



Having fun in Grenoble:

- Skiing
- Mountain hiking (fauna, flora of the Alps)
- An outstanding art museum
- Concert halls, theatres

The heart of Europe: 3h TGV to Paris, 3h TGV to the Mediterranean Sea, Driving distance from Spain, Italy, Germany, Switzerland...



Enjoy the great French way of life – You may become addicted!

Bachelor of sciences in Biology

Bachelor of sciences in Biology

University Joseph Fourier (UJF- Grenoble), *one of the best French universities* (see according to *International ranking*), welcomes the students of any nationality for a full programme of undergraduate biology studies in *English*. Grenoble's laboratories are among the *best in Europe* and our teaching programmes are closely linked to their research themes. Our University offers a great opportunity for biology students to get intense experimental training using the practical work platform (CUBE)* and summer internship in our research institutes.



BIODIVERSITY



STRUCTURAL BIOLOGY



CELL BIOLOGY



PHYSIOLOGY

The programmes are open to groups of students coming for a semester from our partner universities around the world under a student exchange agreement. The foreign students will be mixed with French students.

Any course of the programme can be taught in English and French courses for foreigners (any level) are offered at any semester.

For additional information or customized arrangements, please contact relations.internationales@ujf-grenoble.fr



CUBE
<http://www-biologie-ujf-grenoble.fr/CUBE/>

International Programme of Biology

Biology








SEMESTER 1

- Introduction to Cell Biology
- General Chemistry
- Algebra and Elementary Analysis
- Physics for Life Sciences
- Multimedia Informatics

SEMESTER 2

- Molecular Cell Components
- Animal and Plant Biology
- Organic and Inorganic Chemistry
- Dynamical Systems and Modelling
- French courses

SEMESTER 3

- Cell Biology
- Genetics
- Thermodynamics and Kinetics
- Statistics for Life sciences
- French courses

SEMESTER 4

- Biochemistry1
- Physiology
- Cell Imaging or Ecology
- Supervised Experimental Project
- French Courses

SEMESTER 5

- Experimental Training in Molecular and Cell Biology 1 and 2
- Biochemistry 2
- Molecular basis of Gene Expression
- French Courses

SEMESTER 6

- Developmental Biology
- Cellular Neurobiology
- Bioenergetics
- Structural Biology
- Ecology

The curriculum could be adapted to fit specific requirement
The courses content can be consulted at
http://dkt.ujf-grenoble.fr/international/BIOI_ang.html



CUBE
<http://www-biologie-ujf-grenoble.fr/CUBE/>

Biology research in Grenoble

Grenoble is a fertile environment, famous for research and technology involving 20% of its active population. Science is the driving force of the town and our Biology laboratories provide a vast playground for a strong experimental training encompassing the main fields of modern biology. Our research laboratories are geographically grouped on three specialised campuses.



THE POLYGON CENTER
8 research institutes including 2 prestigious European research centres (European Synchrotron Research Facility (ESRF) and the European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL). Research areas include Structural Biology, Plant Biology and Biology of viruses and cancer.

THE SITE "SANTÉ"
7 health research centres comprising medical imaging, neurosciences, cancer, and hospital research.

THE CAMPUS
4 research laboratories in the field of Molecular Chemistry, Ecology and Bioenergetics.



Research Laboratories

<http://www.ujf-grenoble.fr/recherche/chimie-biologie-sante/laboratoires/>

> Informations pratiques

> Informations pratiques

> Cadre de vie

> Cadre de vie

L'Université Joseph Fourier Grenoble 1 :
au cœur d'un environnement scientifique et naturel exceptionnel



Grande université des sciences, des technologies et de la santé, présente dans tous les **grands classements internationaux**, l'UJF forme près de 17 000 étudiants répartis dans 16 départements de formation à Grenoble et dans son antenne de Valence. L'UJF est implantée au cœur d'un site naturel exceptionnel, une ville dans une vallée entourée par trois massifs montagneux, Vercors, Chartreuse, et Belledonne.

Cet environnement exceptionnel favorise la pratique des sports de montagne : ski, snowboard, escalade, VTT...



Les nombreux équipements sportifs du domaine universitaire donnent également aux étudiants la possibilité de pratiquer une trentaine d'activités physiques et sportives différentes. L'UJF offre à ses étudiants un environnement scientifique et technologique **international** unique en France pour les accompagner dans leurs études et **faciliter leur insertion professionnelle**. Les étudiants ont à leur disposition des ressources documentaires très importantes : 2 bibliothèques universitaires en sciences, médecine et pharmacie et 8 centres spécialisés de documentations.

Enfin, au cœur du campus, l'espace vie étudiante EVE regroupe les nombreuses associations étudiantes du domaine universitaire et sert de lieu de rencontres et de manifestations culturelles.

RECRUTEMENT ET ADMISSION

Pour être admis à ce Parcours, les candidats doivent avoir un bon niveau d'anglais et un bon niveau scientifique ainsi qu'une réelle capacité d'adaptation à des méthodes d'enseignement différentes.

POUR CANDIDATER

- Sur APB : déclarer le parcours Biologie (rien de particulier n'apparaît concernant la version "International" de ce parcours).
- Les étudiants seront sélectionnés en première année sur leurs **résultats scolaires et leur niveau en langues**
- La fiche de candidature à télécharger sur le site web du DLST doit parvenir à la scolarité du DLST avant le 20 juillet, accompagnée d'une lettre de motivation.

Adresse

Licence Biologie Internationale
DLST - 480, Avenue CENTRALE
DOMAINE UNIVERSITAIRE
BP53
38041 Grenoble Cedex 9

Les étudiants non sélectionnés pourront suivre le parcours classique

<http://dlst.ujf-grenoble.fr/>



Licence internationale de Biologie

Pour concilier formation scientifique et expérience internationale






DEPARTEMENT DE LA LICENCE SCIENCE ET TECHNOLOGIE

Conception graphique : service com UJF / crédits photos : SHUTTERSTOCK service com UJF / service com UJF

> Les objectifs de la formation
Les objectifs de la formation

> Contenu de la formation
Contenu de la licence internationale de biologie

> Perspectives
Perspectives

UNE DOUBLE COMPÉTENCES LANGUE ET SCIENCE
Les Parcours internationaux de l'UJF préparent les étudiants à un monde professionnel dans lequel, compte-tenu de l'internationalisation croissante de tous les secteurs de l'économie, il est de plus en plus indispensable de pouvoir communiquer en anglais dans le cadre de son travail.

A une bonne formation scientifique s'ajoutent les atouts qu'apporte une véritable expérience internationale. Celle-ci offre à chacun l'occasion de créer, sans attendre la fin de ses études, un réseau personnel de relations sociales et professionnelles à une échelle qui n'est plus seulement locale ou nationale.

L'EXPÉRIIMENTATION AU CŒUR DE LA LICENCE INTERNATIONALE DE BIOLOGIE
Le parcours "Biologie" dispense une formation de base en biologie, avec une part prépondérante d'enseignements expérimentaux. Toutes les disciplines de la biologie (biologie cellulaire, moléculaire, structurale, microbiologie, génétique, écologie, biochimie...) sont couvertes et sont complétées par des enseignements en physique, chimie et statistiques.

Ce parcours permet d'obtenir une formation solide en biologie et en anglais scientifique grâce à des cours disciplinaires dispensés en anglais dès la première année et des cours de perfectionnement d'anglais proposés chaque semestre à partir du S2. Les étudiants de ce parcours sont ainsi préparés pour une troisième année de licence à l'étranger, pour laquelle ils seront prioritaires soit pour un semestre soit pour l'année entière. Tout au long du parcours, les étudiants sont susceptibles de suivre les cours avec des étudiants étrangers.








SEMESTRE 1

- Biologie cellulaire
- Chimie, structure de la matière
- Algèbre linéaire et géométrie élémentaire
- Physique pour les sciences de la vie
- Informatique instrumentale et multimédia

SEMESTRE 2

- Les constituants biomoléculaires de la cellule
- Biologie des organismes
- Chimie inorganique et organique
- Anglais
- Projet en anglais sur la culture anglosaxonne

SEMESTRE 3

- Méthodes statistiques pour la biologie
- Biologie de la cellule
- Génétique
- Thermodynamique et cinétique
- Anglais

SEMESTRE 4

- Enzymologie et métabolisme
- Physiologie
- Bilan de compétences expérimentales
- Écologie
- Anglais

SEMESTRE 5 départ à l'étranger encouragé

- Méthodes expérimentales en biologie
- Biochimie
- Bases moléculaires de l'expression génique
- Anglais

SEMESTRE 6 départ à l'étranger encouragé

- Biologie du développement
- Neurobiologie cellulaire
- Bioénergétique et biomembranes
- Biologie structurale
- Biologie végétale

Métiers de la recherche et de l'ingénierie
Licence internationale de biologie + masters scientifiques ou écoles d'ingénieurs

Métiers de l'enseignement
Licence internationale de biologie + masters des métiers de l'enseignement

Métiers de la communication
Licence internationale de biologie + masters en communication scientifique

Métiers de l'international
Licence internationale de biologie + masters en commerce international

> Un passeport pour l'international

Les étudiants ayant suivi avec succès le Parcours international sont prioritaires pour la participation à un programme international d'échanges universitaires, ce qui multiplie les possibilités d'accès aux Masters internationaux, enrichit les compétences des candidats aux Masters enseignement et ouvre l'éventail des recrutements et des emplois.





biologie expérimentale


323

GRENOBLE :

opened to the world

We will do our best to help you. You do not speak French? No problem! A large part of our program is taught in English. For the courses in French, English documents will be available. No problem with the exams either: you can answer in English. You can also write research reports in English, etc...



However, it would be a pity to spend two years in France and not learn a single French word, n'est-ce pas? You will have the opportunity to take French courses in the language department for credit.



Heart of the Alps

Chemistry is not all there is: you will find many ways to spend your spare time in Grenoble. You will have the opportunity to discover the surrounding mountains, covered with snow all winter long (ski resorts are only thirty minutes away by bus) Springtime and fall are perfect for long walks in the forests and mountain climbing. Summer is warm! Swimming pools and lakes are perfect for relaxing.

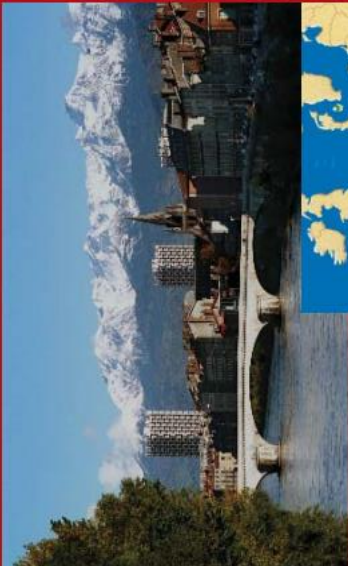

Grenoble is a nice, human-sized town. You will enjoy walks in the old city center. And don't forget our modern art museum.

60 000 Students live in Grenoble :

expect a lively experience !

PRACTICAL information

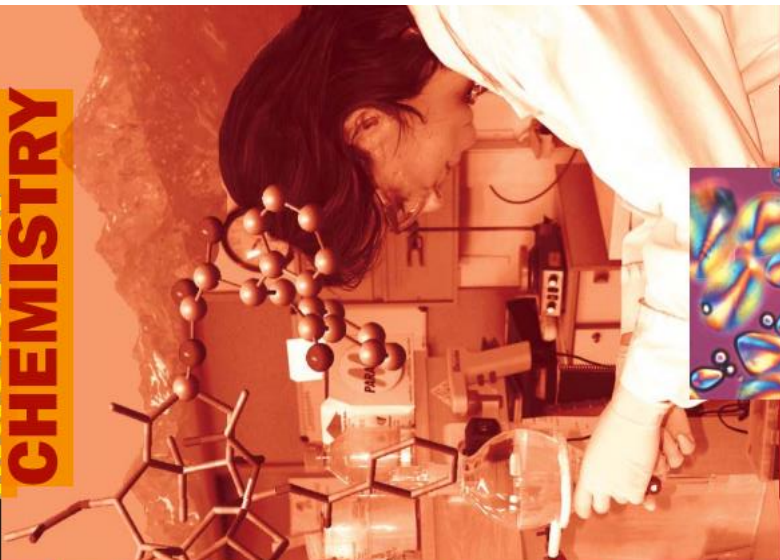
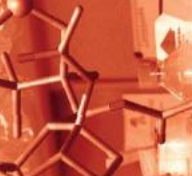
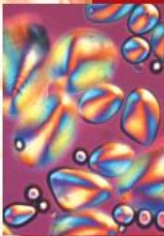
Contact:
Master.Chimistry@ujf-grenoble.fr

Postal address :
Master in Chemistry
Chemistry department,
Université Joseph Fourier, Campus
38041 Grenoble, France

Secretary :
Monique Thomann

www-chimie.ujf-grenoble.fr

Master in CHEMISTRY

English speakers are welcome!

UNIVERSITÉ JOSEPH FOURIER
SCIENCES TECHNOLOGIQUES

Réalisation : service com UJF / GWaller. Crédits photos : F.Henry/UJF - service com UJF
Danyelle Dupuy / Celine Bougault / Rachel Aubry / ISSCEAF / Avatire

MASTER IN Chemistry



If chemistry is your choice, come and study it with us! Grenoble is famous for being a city devoted to research and technology. Our research laboratories are among the best in Europe and our teaching programs are based on the research themes developed in these laboratories. With us, you will have the opportunity to become a well-trained chemist. Our goal is to develop your fundamental knowledge, as well as your technical skills, in chemistry. Chemistry is an interdisciplinary science, connected to life sciences, material sciences, and physics: our curriculum reflects this interdisciplinarity. After two years, your acquired competence will enable you to pursue your career in various areas of chemistry, in either academic research or industry.

Who can apply ?

Your Major (Bachelor Degree)	PHYSICS	CHEMISTRY	BIOLOGY
Master First year	Physics and Chemistry		
Master Second year	Physical Chemistry	Polymers for Advanced Technologies	Organic Synthesis for Pharmaceutical and Agrochemical Industries
			Bioorganic and Bioinorganic Chemistry



TWO YEARS in Grenoble

Once you are accepted into our master's program, we will sign with you an educational contract to ensure a complete formation. What are your present competences and skills? What do you want to learn: do you prefer organic chemistry, physical chemistry, or polymer sciences? Would you like to follow a more interdisciplinary program, including some courses in biology? All these questions will be discussed to set up the appropriate program for you.

During the first year, you will choose between two possible main domains :

"Physics and Chemistry"

Spectroscopy, theoretical chemistry, solid state science... together with some physical chemistry of polymers, and, why not, an introduction to nanosciences.

"Chemistry and Life Sciences"

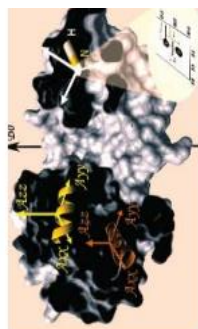
Organic chemistry, polymers, biomolecules, and analytical methods, together with inorganic chemistry and the fundamentals in physical chemistry or biology.

For the second year, there are four specialties (it is possible to apply for direct entry at this level) .

Physical Chemistry	Polymers for Advanced Technologies	Organic Synthesis for the Pharmaceutical and Agrochemical Industries:
Teaching is focused on main spectroscopic methods (NMR, optical techniques, crystallography) and computational chemistry (quantum chemistry, molecular modeling).	If you want to become a polymer specialist, this is the program for you. Biopolymers, mechanical properties, polymers for micro and nano electronics, nanomaterials, advanced coating... You will be taught the most up-to-date developments in polymer sciences.	Do you want to build new molecules? Organic chemistry, asymmetric synthesis, and heterocyclic chemistry make the core of this program. In addition, you will learn green chemistry, industrial process development, drug design...
Bioorganic and Bioinorganic Chemistry		
You will be introduced to the vast domain of chemistry at the interface with life sciences: drug design, biomolecular interactions, biocatalysis, synthesis of biomolecules...		

Mixing courses from various specialties is always possible in agreement with the program's headmaster.

RESEARCH laboratories



15 000 Researchers work in Grenoble in private and public institutions. **20%** of Grenoble's active population works in research. Science is the driving force, and our chemistry labs are part of it. The research fields range from organic to bioorganic, inorganic, bioinorganic, computational and nanoscience chemistry. Research departments are located on two different campuses: our university campus (organic and bioorganic chemistry, drug chemistry, electrochemistry, theoretical chemistry, polymer chemistry...) and the "polygone" campus (bioinorganic chemistry, structural biology, nanophysics, nanoelectronics...). **Prestigious European research centers**, such as ESRF (European Synchrotron Research Facilities) and EMBL (European Molecular Biology Laboratory), are also located in Grenoble.

Training in our research laboratories



The best way to learn chemistry is to practice it: you will spend **long training periods in the lab working with our researchers**, learning how to use spectrometers and computers. You will have the full benefit of our **laboratories, which will help you to become an efficient chemist.**

During the first year, there will be laboratory courses each semester and a **3-month full-time traineeship** in a lab at the end of the second semester.

During the second year, the entire second semester (at least **six months**) will be devoted to a **research project**. This will give you the opportunity to improve your skills and to learn how to organize your work. You will write a comprehensive report (Master's thesis) and orally defend your work.

This training period is essential for **entering a PhD program or industry.**

Doctoral schools

More than **600 PhD's** are delivered each year in Grenoble. After completion of your Master's degree, you might want to continue your studies in Grenoble. This would be possible in one of our doctoral programs. Among them, the doctoral program "Chemistry and Life Sciences" would be specially appropriate. If you wish to specialize in physical chemistry, however, you will also be eligible to enter our doctoral program in physics.

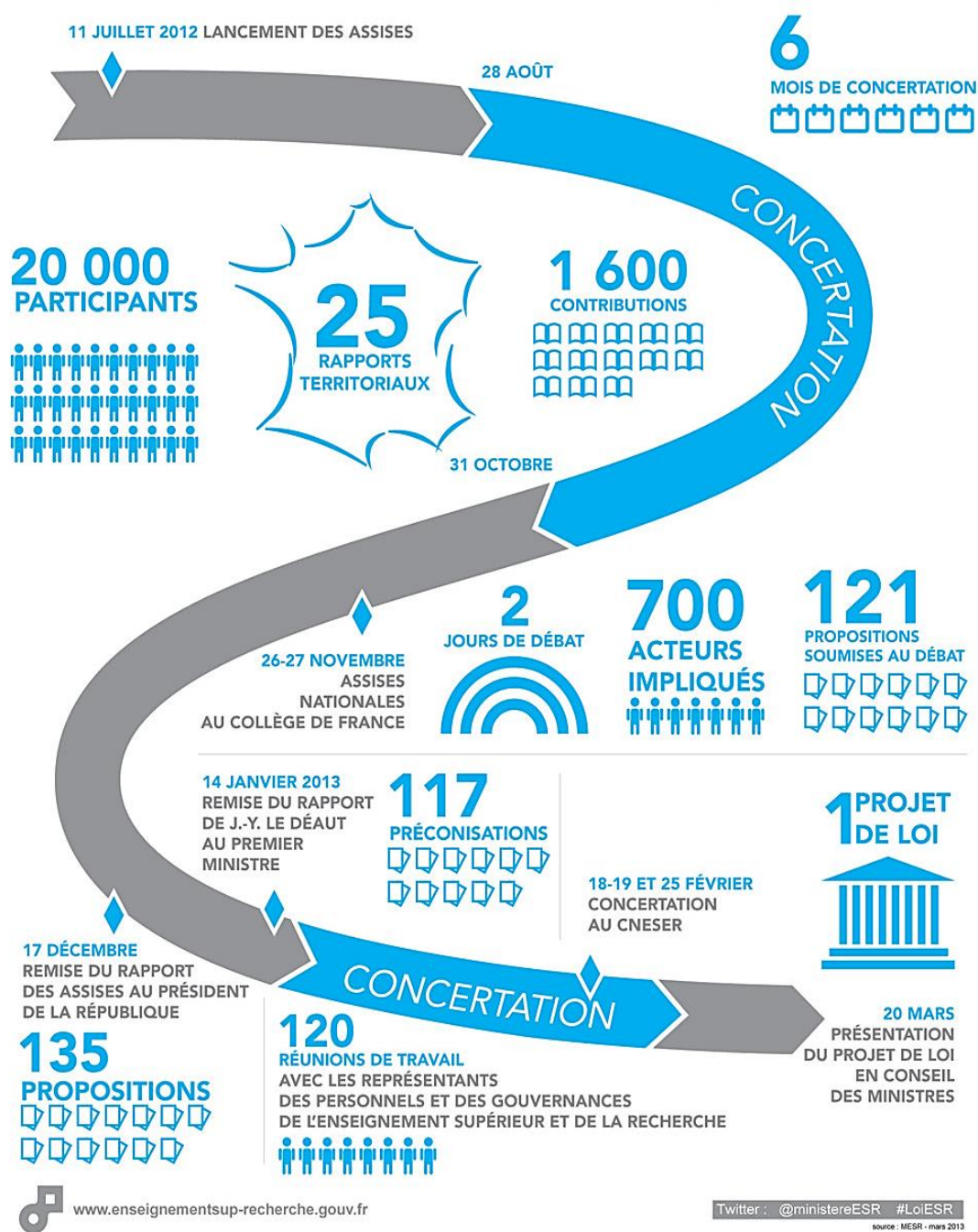
<p>20 March 2013</p> <p>Bill presented to National Assembly</p>	<p>28 May 2013</p> <p>Text adopted by National Assembly</p>
<p>Exceptions may also be justified by the nature of certain classes which are given as part of an agreement with a foreign or international institution as set out in article L. 123-7 or within the framework of a European programme.</p>	<p>Exceptions may also be allowed for certain classes when they are justified out of pedagogical necessity and when these classes are given within the framework of an agreement with a foreign or international institution as set out in article L. 123-7 or within the framework of a European programme to facilitate the development of multilingual, cross-border programmes and diplomas.</p> <p>In such instances, classes can only be given partly in a foreign language. Foreign students receiving such classes will be given French language courses. Their level of mastery of French will be included as part of the overall assessment for their diploma.</p>

Table 10 bis. Evolution of Article 2

<p>12 June 2013</p> <p>Text adopted by Senate Commission</p>	<p>3 July 2013</p> <p>Text adopted by Senate and National Assembly</p>
<p>Exceptions may be justified:</p> <p>Out of pedagogical necessity, when classes are given within the framework of an agreement with a foreign or international institution as set out in article L. 123-7 or within the framework of a European programme;”</p> <p>For the development of multilingual, cross-border programmes and diplomas.</p> <p>Foreign students following courses in a foreign language will be given will be given courses in French culture and, when their mastery of French is insufficient, French language classes. Their level of mastery of French will be assessed as part of the overall assessment for their diploma.</p>	<p>Exceptions may be justified:</p> <p>Out of pedagogical necessity, when classes are given within the framework of an agreement with a foreign or international institution as set out in article L. 123-7 or within the framework of a European programme;”</p> <p>For the development of multilingual, cross-border programmes and diplomas.</p> <p>In such instances, classes can only be given partly in a foreign language and only if authorisation for such programmes fixes the proportion of classes to be given in French. The minister responsible for the usage of the French language in France will immediately be informed of the exceptions made, for how long and why.</p> <p>Foreign students following courses in a foreign language will be given French language classes if their mastery of French is insufficient. Their satisfactory level of mastery of French will be assessed as part of the overall assessment for their diploma.</p> <p>The classes offered will enable French students to acquire a mastery of the language in which the classes are given.</p>

Table 10 bis (continued). Evolution of Article 2

Policy creation phase prior to the parliamentary debates



Media representations of Article 2

1) Newspaper articles discussing Article 2 of the Fioraso Law

From *Le Monde*:

- 10.04.2013: “L’anglais, talon d’Achille de l’enseignement supérieur”
- 25.04.2013: “L’anglais a sa place dans l’université française”
- 25.04.2013: “Refusons le sabordage du français”
- 07.05.2013: “Facultés : les cours en anglais sont une chance et une réalité”
- 09.05.2013: “Le développement des cours en anglais à l’université déchire le monde académique”
- 10.05.2013: “La loi Fioraso, nouvelle bataille d’Hernani”
- 15.05.2013: “Cours en anglais à l’université : débat passionné à l’Assemblée”
- 15.05.2013: “Universités : les cours en anglais mènent à un enseignement au rabais”
- 15.05.2013: “Des députés PS prêts à bouter l’anglais hors de l’université”
- 19.05.2013: “Le multilinguisme contre le ‘globish’”
- 19.05.2013: “Plus innover en français pour exporter...le français”
- 19.05.2013: “Qualité de l’enseignement plus que la langue utilisée”
- 21.05.2013: “A l’université, l’anglais est déjà la langue des chercheurs”
- 21.05.2013: “Anglais à l’université : Fioraso dénonce une ‘formidable hypocrisie’”
- 21.05.2015: “Permettre à tous les étudiants d’accéder aux savoirs sous toutes leurs formes”
- 22.05.2013: “A l’université le français n’est pas suffisant”
- 22.05.2013: “Benguigui : la loi Fioraso ne met pas la francophonie en danger”
- 23.05.2013: “Cours d’anglais à l’université : feu vert des députés”
- 23.05.2013: “‘Quel est donc ce peuple qui a honte de sa propre langue ?’”
- 24.05.2013: “Pourquoi les étudiants français ont-ils un mauvais niveau d’anglais ?”
- 28.05.2013: “L’anglais à l’université et les anxiétés françaises”
- 03.06.2013: “L’anglais, chance ou danger pour le français?”
- 14.06.2013: “A l’Edhec, le directeur refuse le retour des cours en français”

From *Libération*:

- 03.04.2013: “Un amour de Mme Fioraso”
- 12.04.2013: “L’université française va-t-elle parler anglais?”
- 06.05.2013: “Francophonie : des faits, pas des illusions marchandes”
- 06.05.2013: “L’enseignement en anglais, c’est fromage et dessert”
- 21.05.2013: “En science, l’anglais of course!”

- 20.05.2013 “L’anglais enflamme les amphis”
- 20.05.2013: “Beaucoup de peur pour rien”
- 20.05.2013: “En Suède, l’anglais attire le monde”
- 20.05.2013: “L’Allemagne se résigne pour que sa recherche existe”
- 21.05.2013: “Anglais à l’université : Fioraso dénonce une formidable hypocrisie”
- 21.05.2013: “Français, gardez votre langue à l’université”
- 22.05.2013: “Loi Fioraso : les vrai chiffres de l’anglais à l’université”
- 23.05.2013: “Les députés ouvrent la porte aux cours en anglais à l’université”

From *l’Express*:

- 22.04.2013: “Enseigner en français!”
- 29.05.2013: “Anglais à l’université : “beaucoup d’agitation pour rien”

From *France TV*:

- 23.05.2013: “Quarante députés PS contre l’enseignement en anglais dans les universités françaises”

From *France24*:

- 15.05.2013: “Cours en anglais à l’université : ‘la pire des humiliations’ pour les francophones”

From *Le Figaro*:

- 13.03.2013: “L’université française veut créer des diplômes en anglais”
- 17.04.2013: “L’université française menacée par le ‘tout à l’anglais’”
- 18.05.2013: “Loi Fioraso : un chèque en blanc à l’anglais”

From *Marianne*:

- 17.08.2014: “Défendre le français contre le tout-Globish”
- 11.05.2015: “Une gifle à la langue française”

From *Le Point*:

- 30.04.2013: “ Réforme des universités : pour ou contre les cours en anglais?”
- 02.12.2013: “Do you speak le Fioraso English?”

From *Slate*:

- 15.05.2013: “Les universités françaises parlent déjà (un peu) anglais”

From *Huffington Post*:

- 26.04.2013: “Pour ou contre des cursus ‘tout en anglais’ dans les universités françaises”
- 15.05.2013: “Cours en anglais : le Parlement en perd son latin”

From *Les Echos*:

- 21.05.2013: “Geneviève Fioraso : ‘Il faut en finir avec cette hypocrisie’” (Stéphane Dupont)
- 21.05.2013: “L’archaïsme, c’est de croire que tout passe par l’anglais”

From *TV5Monde*:

- 17.05.2013: “Université française : l’anglais trouble”

Front cover of *Libération* (21.05.2013):

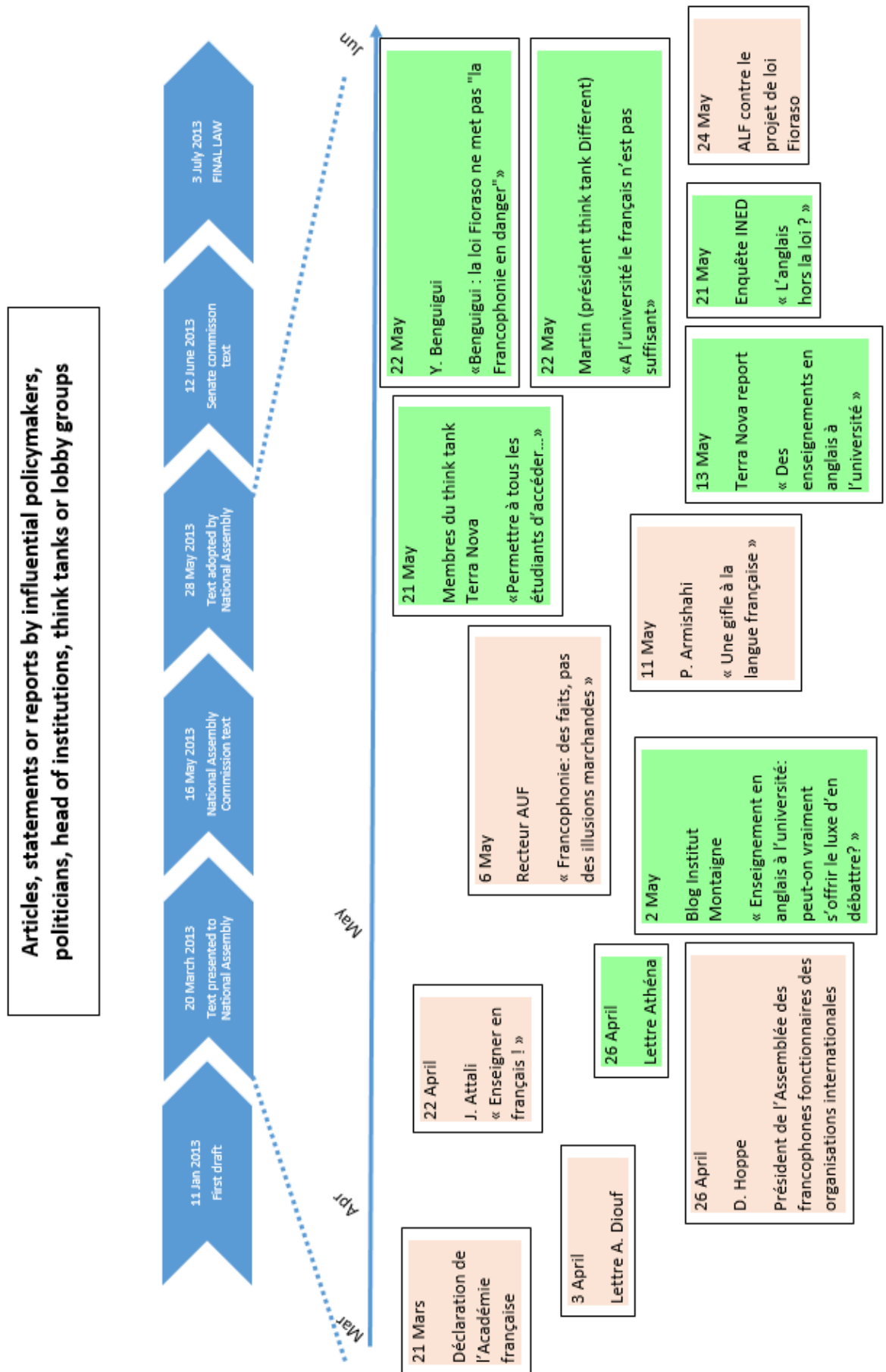


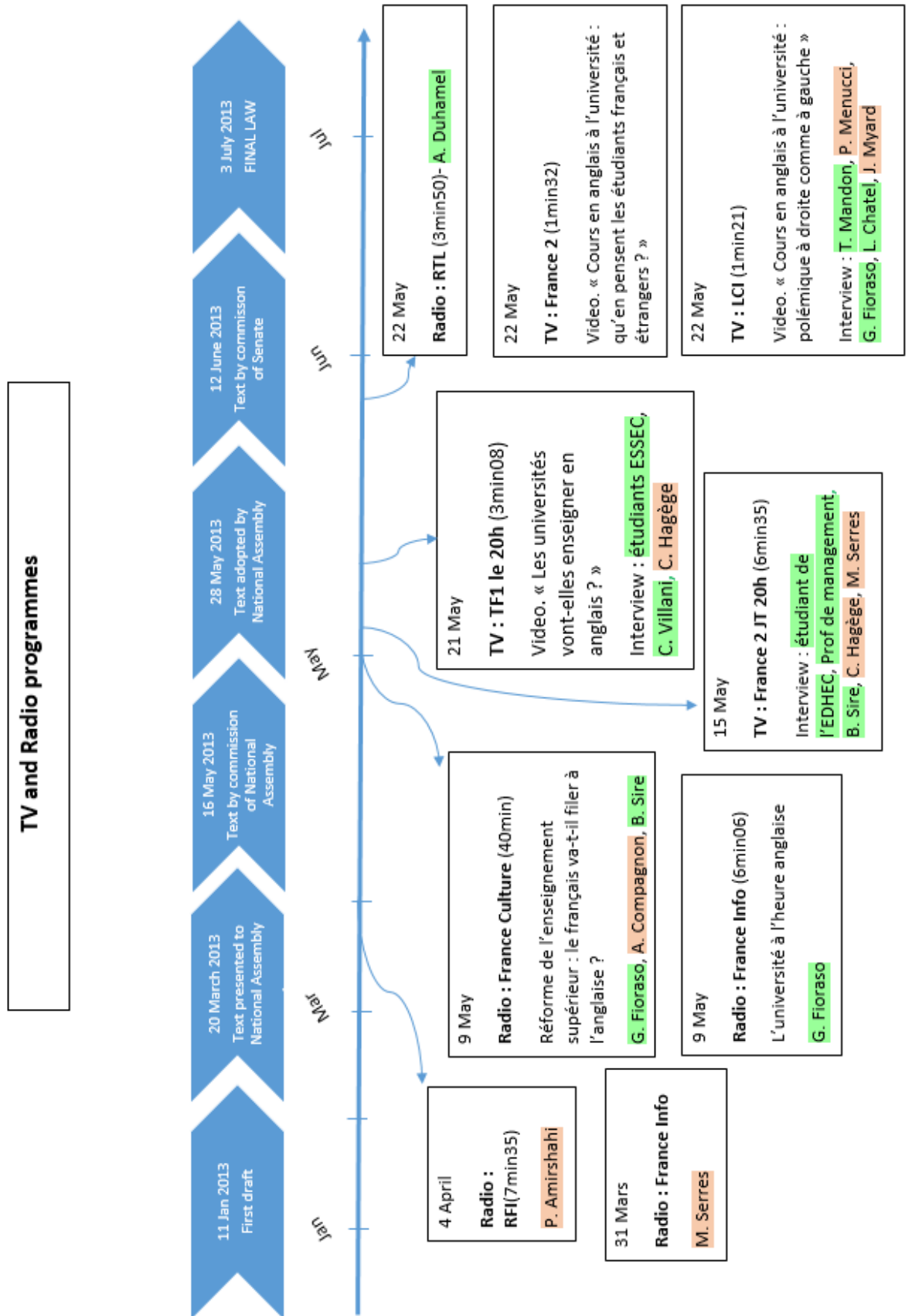
2) Radio programmes discussing Article 2

- **RTL** (22 May 2013) *Alain Duhamel*
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0xQ6BgvG7zA>
- **France Culture** (9 May 2013) Minister Fioraso, Compagnon, Sire
 - <http://www.franceculture.fr/emissions/du-grain-moudre/reforme-de-lenseignement-superieur-le-francais-va-t-il-filer-langlaise>
- **France Info** (9 May 2013) *Minister Fioraso*
 - <http://www.franceinfo.fr/emission/Unknown%20token%20emission-type-url/noeud-diffusion-temporaire-pour-le-nid-source-981043-05-05-2014-11-47>
- **RFI** (4 Avril 2013) *Pouria Amirshahi*
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pKBeWgAPJ1w>

3) Television programmes discussing Article 2

- **France 2** (22 May 2013)
 - http://www.francetvinfo.fr/societe/education/cours-en-anglais-a-la-fac/video-l-anglais-a-l-universite-qu-en-pensent-les-etudiants-francais-et-etrangers_329788.html
- **France 2 JT 20h** (15 May 2013)
 - http://www.francetvinfo.fr/replay-jt/france-2/20-heures/jt-20-heures-mercredi-15-mai-2013_320219.html
- **TF1 JT 20h** (21 May 2013)
 - <http://lci.tf1.fr/jt-20h/videos/2013/les-universites-francaises-vont-elles-enseigner-en-anglais-7973396.html>
- **LCI** (22 May 2013)
 - <http://lci.tf1.fr/videos/2013/cours-en-anglais-a-l-universite-polemique-a-droite-comme-a-gauche-7973813.html>





Petitions circulating against Article 2

- CONTRE la loi ESR “Fioraso”, parce que POUR la langue française !

https://www.petitions24.net/contre_la_loi_esr_fioraso_parce_que_pour_la_langue_francaise



CONTRE la loi ESR «Fioraso», parce que POUR la langue française !

FAISONS BARRAGE AU PROJET DE LOI DIT «ESR» QUI VISE À IMPOSER PROGRESSIVEMENT LA LANGUE ANGLAISE DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR ET LA RECHERCHE EN FRANCE !

Le français n'est pas un frein à nos échanges universitaires et scientifiques avec le monde : **c'est tout le contraire !**

- Voter cette loi c'est renier les pays francophones, c'est mettre de côté tous ceux qui apprennent le français de par le monde. C'est aussi, pour nous Français, renoncer à un facteur de confort, d'efficacité et d'identité : notre langue !
- Croire que l'on va attirer des étudiants et professeurs étrangers parce que les enseignements seraient en anglais est un contre-sens burlesque : ils ne viennent pas en France parce que l'on y parle l'anglais, mais... **parce que l'on y parle le français justement !**
- Une langue n'est pas neutre mais au contraire porteuse de valeurs et d'un imaginaire propre : **imposer l'anglais revient à imposer une pensée et une culture étrangères.**
À terme, cela revient également à abandonner le pouvoir aux anglophones.

Aussi par le projet de loi ESR, en expulsant la langue française de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche. **On isole encore un peu plus la France de ses amitiés et de ses réseaux sous des prétextes fallacieux de modernité.**

LA PÉTITION EN LIGNE :

http://www.petitions24.net/contre_la_loi_esr_fioraso_parce_que_pour_la_langue_francaise



Le site de l'upr :

WWW.U-P-R.FR

Suivez nous sur les réseaux sociaux :

[facebook.com/upr.francoisasselineau](https://www.facebook.com/upr.francoisasselineau)

[youtube.com/uprdiffusion](https://www.youtube.com/uprdiffusion)

twitter.com/UPR_Asselineau

Pour toute précision :

francois-xavier.grison@u-p-r.fr

SIGNEZ LA PÉTITION !

UNION POPULAIRE RÉPUBLICAINE

L'union du peuple pour rétablir la démocratie

- La résistance au tout-anglais transatlantique ! (Pétition nationale)

<http://www.politique-actu.com/opinion/la-resistance-tout-anglais-transatlantique-petition-nationale/1487583/>



- L'université française doit parler français ! Je signe la pétition

<http://www.frontnational.com/luniversite-francaise-doit-parler-francais-je-signe-la-petition/>

- Résistance ou Collaboration linguistique ? Contre la macronisation de la langue française et la grattaz-strophe annoncée de notre pays pris dans le carcan linguistique de l'américanisation du monde.

<http://libertesconquises.blogspot.co.uk/2017/01/resistance-ou-collaboration-linguistique.html>





Le Secrétaire général de la Francophonie

**Objet : Projet de loi relatif à l'enseignement
supérieur et à la recherche**

Paris, le - 3 AVR. 2013

Monsieur le Premier Ministre,

Votre gouvernement a proposé récemment des modifications à la loi relative à l'enseignement supérieur et à la recherche. J'en ai pris connaissance et je salue les objectifs que vous poursuivez par ce changement législatif qui vise notamment à favoriser le décloisonnement des institutions et la mobilité des étudiants ainsi qu'à donner un nouvel élan à la recherche.

Je me permets néanmoins de vous faire part de quelques inquiétudes que soulèvent les nouvelles exceptions que ce projet de loi veut introduire à la règle faisant du français la langue de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche. Plusieurs observateurs avisés estiment que, telles qu'actuellement libellées, ces deux nouvelles exceptions en faveur des langues étrangères menacent ce principe général et ouvrent la porte à des interprétations qui pourraient porter atteinte au statut de la langue française dans l'enseignement universitaire.

Comme vous le savez, les enjeux de l'internationalisation soumettent déjà les universités, leurs responsables, les enseignants, et les chercheurs à de très fortes pressions en faveur du monolinguisme anglais.

En conformité avec le discours fort et les messages mobilisateurs portés par le Président de la République française, Son Excellence Monsieur François Hollande, au Sommet de la Francophonie à Kinshasa, relatifs au rôle et à l'exemplarité de la France, eu égard à la langue française et à la Francophonie, j'encourage votre gouvernement à ne prendre aucune mesure qui puisse affaiblir le français en tant que langue du savoir, de l'expertise et du transfert de connaissances et de technologies.

La France et les Français doivent continuer de porter cette ambition pour leur langue partagée par plus de deux cent-vingt millions de locuteurs à travers les cinq continents. C'est non seulement une fierté, mais aussi une responsabilité dont nous tous mesurons les exigences.

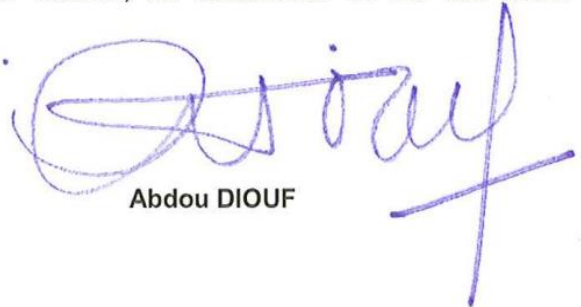
.../...

Son Excellence Monsieur Jean-Marc AYRAULT
Premier Ministre
Bureau du Premier Ministre de la République française
Hôtel Matignon
57, rue de Varenne
75700 Paris

L'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie comme les Opérateurs des Sommets, tous interpellés par la place et le rayonnement du français, se tiennent à votre disposition pour contribuer à renforcer le dialogue fructueux engagé à la faveur du Sommet de Kinshasa autour des grands enjeux de la langue que nous avons en partage.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, les assurances de ma très haute considération.

Amicalement.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Diouf', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Abdou DIOUF



Le président

www.allianceathena.fr
190-198 av. de France
75013 Paris
jeanemile.gombert
@gmail.com

Le Président de l'Alliance ATHENA

Paris, 26 avril 2013

Conformément au rapport produit par son Groupe de travail sur l'Internationalisation (voir pièce jointe), l'Alliance nationale des Sciences humaines et sociales (ATHENA) soutient la proposition du gouvernement ouvrant la possibilité d'enseignements en langues étrangères dans nos grandes écoles et universités. Ce rapport et les recommandations qu'il comporte ont été approuvés à l'unanimité par le directoire de l'alliance en septembre 2012, avant même la formulation du projet de loi.

Comme il apparaît dans l'extrait ci-dessous cette proposition correspond en effet à la première des recommandations conclusives du rapport.

Recommandation 1 : Modifier pour l'enseignement supérieur le champ d'application de la Loi Toubon.

Si l'on accepte le fait que le français n'est pas, sauf exception, la langue qui permet aux scientifiques dans le monde de communiquer entre eux, plusieurs raisons nous amènent à considérer que la Loi Toubon est un frein à l'internationalisation de la recherche française en SHS, et que son application doit être assouplie dès les premières années de licence. L'apprentissage des langues étant ce qu'il est dans notre système éducatif, croire que l'unique solution est d'augmenter le volume horaire des cours de langues dispensés en licence et en master est sans doute une illusion. Une voie alternative consiste, dès la première année, à **enseigner quelques matières fondamentales directement dans la langue la plus utilisée dans la communauté scientifique internationale de la discipline considérée.** Intégrer dans les cursus de formation des cours, d'abord ponctuels en licence, puis des cursus complets en master et doctorat dans la langue qu'utilisent les chercheurs dans les colloques internationaux et les principales revues du domaine devrait très vite permettre d'évoluer sur trois plans :

1- Améliorer le niveau en langue de spécialité des étudiants français, et particulièrement de ceux qui se destinent à la recherche, sans avoir à alourdir la charge d'enseignement.

2- Attirer davantage d'étudiants étrangers dans nos cursus et permettre ainsi un accroissement des échanges intra-européens et extra-européens. La mise en place de cursus

en anglais dès la licence, par exemple, permet la création de doubles diplômes européens très appréciés dans les entreprises à vocation internationales et fortement demandés chez les étudiants.

3- Développer dans nos établissements des politiques de recrutement d'enseignants-chercheurs sans discrimination sur la maîtrise de la langue française ; élargir ainsi considérablement le vivier tout en incitant à la mobilité. Accroître la présence des universités françaises sur le marché international du recrutement des enseignants-chercheurs est une voie, sans doute, déterminante pour accroître le rayonnement de la France dans la production des connaissances en SHS.

Bien évidemment cette évolution doit s'accompagner d'un renforcement de l'enseignement du français langue étrangère pour les étudiants et chercheurs accueillis dans nos établissements afin qu'elle s'intègre dans une perspective d'augmentation (ou de restauration) de notre influence à l'étranger.

Jean Emile Gombert



Bibliography

- Académie Française. (n.d.). Les Missions: Défense de langue française. Retrieved 5 May 2014, from <http://www.academie-francaise.fr/linstitution/les-missions>
- Adamson, R. (2007). *The Defence of French: A language in crisis?* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ager, D.E. (1996). *Language Policy in Britain and France*. London: Cassell.
- Ager, D.E. (1999). *Identity, Insecurity and Image: France and language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ager, D.E. (2001). *Motivation in Language Planning and Language Policy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Airey, J. (2011). Talking about teaching in English. Swedish university lecturers' experiences of changing their teaching language. *Ibérica* 22, 35-54.
- Airey, J. (2012a). I don't teach language: The linguistic attitudes of physics lecturers in Sweden. *AILA Review*, 25(25), 64-79.
- Airey, J. (2012b, Nov 22). *The impact of English-medium instruction in higher education*. Lecture at Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. Retrieved 8 December 2016, from http://www.upf.edu/llengues/_pdf/Presentacix_J.Airey.pdf.
- Airey, J. (2016). EAP, EMI or CLIL? In K. Hyland and P. Shaw (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English for Academic Purposes*. New York: Routledge. 71-83.
- Airey, J., Lauridsen, K.M., Räsänen, A., Salö, L. and Schwach, V. (2017). The expansion of English-medium instruction in the Nordic countries: Can top-down university language policies encourage bottom-up disciplinary literacy goals? *Higher Education*, 73(4), 561-576.
- Airey, J. and Linder, C. (2006). Language and the experience of learning university physics in Sweden. *European Journal of Physics*, 27(3), 553-560.
- Airey, J. and Linder, C. (2008). Bilingual scientific literacy? The use of English in Swedish university science courses. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 7(3), 145-161.
- Altbach, P.G. and Knight, J. (2007). The internationalization of higher education: Motivations and realities. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3-4), 290-305.
- Arthur, J. (1996). Code switching and collusion: Classroom interaction in Botswana primary schools. *Linguistics and Education*, 8(1), 17-33.
- Ball, S.J. (1993). What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes. *The Australian Journal of Education Studies*, 13(2), 10-17.
- Ball, S.J. (1998). Big policies/small world: An introduction to international perspectives in education policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2), 119-130.
- Ball, S. J. (2006). *Education policy and social class: The selected works of Stephen J. Ball*. London: Routledge.

- Björkman, B. (2010). So you think you can ELF: English as a lingua franca as the medium of instruction. *Hermes–Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, 45, 77-96.
- Blackledge, A. (2006). The magical frontier between the dominant and the dominated: Sociolinguistics and social justice in a multilingual world. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(1), 22-41.
- Blommaert, J. and Verschueren, J. (1992). The role of language in European nationalist ideologies. *Pragmatics*, 2(3), 355-375.
- Blommaert, J. (2005a). Situating language rights: English and Swahili in Tanzania revisited. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3), 390-417.
- Blommaert, J. (2005b). *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Blommaert, J. (2007). Sociolinguistics scales. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 4(1), 1-19.
- Bolton, K. and Kuteeva, M. (2012). English as an academic language at a Swedish university: Parallel language use and the ‘threat’ of English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(5), 429-447.
- Bowe, R., Ball, S. and Gold, A. (1992). *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case studies in policy sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Brenn-White, M. and Faethe, E. (2013). *English-Taught Master’s Programs in Europe: A 2013 update*. New York: Institute of International Education. Retrieved 3 September 2016, from <https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications/English-Language-Masters-Briefing-Paper-2013-Update>
- Calvet, L.J. (2002). *Marché aux Langues: les effets linguistiques de la mondialisation*. Paris: Plon.
- Cameron, D. (2001). *Working with Spoken Discourse*. London: Sage.
- Campus France. (2013). Les formations enseignées en anglais. Retrieved 17 January 2014, from <http://www.campusfrance.org/fr/page/les-formations-enseignees-en-anglais>.
- Campus France. (2014). *Au-delà de l’influence : l’apport économique des étudiants étrangers en France*. Paris: Campus France.
- Canagarajah, A.S. (1995). Functions of codeswitching in the ESL classroom: Socialising bilingualism in Jaffna. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 16(3), 173-196.
- Canagarajah, A.S. (1999). *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*. Oxford: OUP.
- Canagarajah, A.S. (2006). Ethnographic methods in language policy. In T. Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and method*. Malden, MA: Blackwell. 153-169.
- Chansou, M. (1983). Politique de la langue et idéologie en français contemporain. *Mots*, 6(1), 59-77.

- Chansou, M. (1997). Les politiques de la langue et la législation linguistique en France (1966-1994). *Mots*, 52(1), 23-35.
- Chaubet, F. (2004). L'Alliance française ou la diplomatie de la langue (1883-1914). *Revue historique*, 4, 763-785.
- Chick, J.K. (1996). Safe-talk: Collusion in apartheid education. In H. Coleman (ed.), *Society and the Language Classroom*. Cambridge: CUP. 21-39.
- Chouliaraki, L. and Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Cincotta-Segi, A. (2011). Talking in, talking around and talking about the L2: Three literacy teaching responses to L2 medium of instruction in the Lao PDR. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 41(2), 195-209.
- Cole, A. and Harguindéguy, J-B.P. (2013). The Jacobin Republic and language rights. Ethnolinguistic mobilizations in France. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 23(1), 27-46.
- Coleman, J.A. (2006). English-medium teaching in European higher education. *Language Teaching*, 39(1), 1-14.
- Coleman, J.A. (2012). Foreword. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster and J.M. Sierra (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global challenges*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. xiii-xvi.
- Coleman, H. (ed.). (1996). *Society and the Language Classroom*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Cooper, R.L. (1989). *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Costa, F. and Coleman, J. (2010). Integrating content and language in higher education in Italy. Ongoing research. *International CLIL Research Journal*, 1(3), 19-29.
- Costa, F. and Coleman, J. (2013). A survey of English-medium instruction in Italian higher education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 16(1), 3-19.
- Cots, J.M. (2012). Introducing English-medium instruction at the University of Lleida, Spain: Intervention, beliefs and practices. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster and J.M. Sierra (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global challenges*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. 106-130.
- Dalton-Puffer, C. (2011). Content-and-Language Integrated Learning: From practice to principles? *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 31. 182-204.
- Dearden, J. (2014). *English as a Medium of Instruction: A growing global phenomenon*. London: British Council.
- Deneire, M. (2015). Images of English in the French press. In A. Linn, N. Bermel, and G. Ferguson (eds.), *Attitudes Towards English in Europe: English in Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 55-70.
- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.). (2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- De Swaan, A. (2001). *Words of the World: The global language system*. Cambridge: Polity Press and Blackwell.

- Dimova, S., Hultgren, A.K. and Jensen, C. (eds.). (2015). *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education: English in Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. and Sierra, J.M. (2011). Internationalisation, multilingualism and English-medium instruction. *World Englishes*, 30(3), 345-359.
- Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. and Sierra, J.M. (eds.). (2012). *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global challenges*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. and Sierra, J.M. (2014). Language friction and multilingual policies in higher education: The stakeholders' view. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(4), 345-360.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: OUP.
- Duff, P.A. (2008). *Case Study Research in Applied Linguistics*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Duff, P.A. and Roberts, C. (1997). The politics of transcription; Transcribing talk: Issues of representation. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(1), 167-172.
- Edwards, R. and Holland, J. (2013). *What is Qualitative Interviewing?* London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Erling, E.J. and Hilgendorf, S.K. (2006). Language policies in the context of German higher education. *Language Policy*, 5(3), 267-293.
- Estival, D. and Pennycook, A. (2011). L'Académie française and Anglophone language ideologies. *Language Policy*, 10(4), 325-341.
- Etiemble, R. (1964). *Parlez-vous franglais?* Paris: Gallimard.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Harlow: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: The universities. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 133-168.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, I. and Fairclough, N. (2012). *Political Discourse: A method for advanced students*. New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T.A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Sage. 258-84.
- Ferguson, G. (2006). *Language Planning and Education*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Ferguson, G. (2007). The global spread of English, scientific communication and ESP: Questions of equity, access and domain loss. *Ibérica*, 13, 7-38.

- Ferguson, G. (2012). English in language policy and management. In B. Spolsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: CUP. 475-498.
- Fishman, J.A. (1974). *Advances in Language Planning*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Fishman, J.A., Ferguson, C.A. and Gupta, J.D. (1968). *Language Problems of Developing Nations*. New York: Wiley.
- Flood, J., Heath, S.B. and Lapp, D. (eds.). (2004). *Handbook of Research on Teaching Literacy Through the Communicative and Visual Arts*. New York: MacMillan.
- Gajo, L. (2013). Le plurilinguisme *dans et pour* la science: enjeux d'une politique linguistique à l'université. *Synergies Europe*, 1, 97-109.
- García, O., Flores, N. and Spotti, M. (eds.). (2017). *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society*. Oxford: OUP.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Harmondsworth.
- Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in Public*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gordon P.H. and Meunier, S. (2001). *The French Challenge: Adapting to globalization*. Washington: Brookings.
- Green, J. and Bloome, D. (2004). Ethnography and ethnographers of and in education: A situated perspective. In J. Flood, S.B. Heath and D. Lapp (eds.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching Literacy Through the Communicative and Visual Arts*. New York: MacMillan. 181-202.
- Grillo, R.D. (1989). *Dominant Languages: Language and hierarchy in Britain and France*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Grin, F. (2014). Dépasser les idées reçues. *Le Débat*, 1(178), 127-135.
- Gumperz, J. (1996). The linguistic and cultural relativity of inference. In J. Gumperz and S. Levinson (eds.), *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. Cambridge: CUP. 374-406.
- Gumperz, J. (1999). On interactional sociolinguistic method. In S. Sarangi and C. Roberts (eds.), *Talk, Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in medical, mediation and management settings*. Berlin: Mouton. 453-471.
- Gumperz, J. and Levinson, S. (eds.). (1996). *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hagège, C. (1996). *Le français, histoire d'un combat*. Paris: Michel Hagège.
- Hagège, C. (2000). *Halte à la mort des langues*. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Hagège, C. (2012). *Contre la pensée unique*. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Haugen, E. (1959). Planning for a standard language in modern Norway. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 1(3), 8-21.

- Hazeersingh, S. (2015). *How the French Think: An affectionate portrait of an intellectual people*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hellekjær, G.O. (2007). The implementation of undergraduate level English medium programs in Norway: An explorative case study. In R. Wilkinson and V. Zegars (eds.), *Researching Content and Language Integration in Higher Education*. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers Maastricht. 68-81.
- Heller, M. (2003). Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 473-492.
- Heller, M. and Martin-Jones, M. (eds.). (2001). *Voices of Authority: Education and linguistic difference*. Westport, CT: Ablex.
- Héran, F. (2013). L'anglais hors la loi? Enquête sur les langues de recherche et d'enseignement en France. *Institut National d'Études Démographiques* (INED), 501, 1-4.
- Hornberger, N.H. (1988). *Bilingual Education and Language Maintenance: A southern Peruvian Quechua case*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Hornberger, N.H. (2005). Opening and filling up implementational and ideological spaces in heritage language education. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(4), 605-609.
- Hornberger, N.H. (2006). Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In T. Ricento (ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and method*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 24-41.
- Hornberger, N.H. and Johnson, D.C. (2007). Slicing the Onion Ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(3), 509-532.
- Hornberger, N.H. and Johnson, D.C. (2011). The ethnography of language policy. In T.L. McCarty (ed.), *Ethnography and Language Policy*. New York: Routledge. 273-289.
- Hu, G., Li, L. and Lei, J. (2014). English-medium instruction at a Chinese university: Rhetoric and reality. *Language Policy*, 13, 21-40.
- Hughes, R. (ed.). (2006). *Spoken English, TESOL and Applied Linguistics: Challenges for Theory and Practice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hughes, R. and Reed, B.S. (2006). Factors affecting turn-taking behaviour: Genre meets prosody. In R. Hughes (ed.), *Spoken English, TESOL and Applied Linguistics: Challenges for Theory and Practice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 126-140.
- Hult, F.M. (2010). Analysis of language policy discourses across the scales of space and time. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 202, 7-24.
- Hult, F.M. (2015). Making policy connections across scales using nexus analysis. In F.M. Hult and D.C. Johnson (eds.), *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A practical guide*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell. 217-232.
- Hult, F.M. (2017). Discursive approaches to policy. In S.E.F. Wortham, D. Kim and S. May (eds.), *Discourse and education*. New York: Springer. 111-121.

- Hult, F.M. and Johnson, D.C. (eds.). (2015). *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A practical guide*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Hult, F.M. and Johnson, D.C. (2015). The practice of language policy research. In F.M. Hult and D.C. Johnson (eds.), *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A practical guide*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell. 1-6.
- Hultgren, A.K., Jensen, C. and Dimova, S. (2015). English-medium instruction in European higher education: From the north to the south. In S. Dimova, A.K. Hultgren and C. Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 1-15.
- Hyland, K. and Shaw, P. (eds.). (2016). *The Routledge Handbook of English for Academic Purposes*. New York: Routledge.
- Jaffe, A. (1999). *Ideologies in Action: Language politics on Corsica*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jenkins, J. (2014). *English as a Lingua Franca in the International University: The politics of academic English language policy*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Jensen, C., Staehr, L.S. and Thøgersen, J. (2009). *Undervisners holdninger til engelsk som undervisningssprog—en spørgeskemaundersøgelse på Københavns Universitet*. Københavns Universitet: Center for Internationalisering og Parallelsproglighed. Retrieved 12 April 2017, from http://cip.ku.dk/pdf/publ/Undviseres_holdninger_til_engelsk_som_undervisningssprog.pdf/
- Jessop, B. (2004). Critical semiotic analysis and cultural political economy. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 1(2), 159-174.
- Jessop, B., Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (eds.). (2008). *Education and the Knowledge-Based Economy in Europe*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Johnson, D.C. (2007). *Language policy within and without the School District of Philadelphia*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Department of Educational Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania.
- Johnson, D.C. (2009). Ethnography of language policy. *Language Policy*, 8(2), 139-159.
- Johnson, D.C. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and the ethnography of language policy. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 8(4), 267-279.
- Johnson, D.C. (2013a). *Language Policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Johnson, D.C. (2013b). Introduction: Ethnography of language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2013(219), 1-6.
- Johnson, D.C. (2015). Intertextuality and language policy. In F.M. Hult and D.C. Johnson (eds.), *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A practical guide*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell. 166-180.
- Johnson, D.C. and Johnson, E.J. (2014). Power and agency in language policy appropriation. *Language Policy*, 14(3), 221-243.
- Källkvist, M. and Hult, F. (2016). Discursive mechanisms and human agency in language policy formation: Negotiating bilingualism and parallel language use at a Swedish university. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 19(1), 1-17.

- Kaplan, R.B. and Baldauf, R.B. (1997). *Language Planning: From practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kirkpatrick, A. (2011). Internationalization or Englishization: Medium of instruction in today's universities. Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Institute of Education.
- Klaassen, R. (2001). *The International University Curriculum: Challenges in English-medium instruction*. Doctoral dissertation. Delft, Netherlands: Delft University of Technology.
- Kling, J. (2015). "You try with a little humor and you just get on with it": Danish lecturers' reflections on English-medium instruction. In S. Dimova, A.K. Hultgren and C. Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European higher education*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 201-222.
- Kloss, H. (1969). *Research Possibilities on Group Bilingualism: A report*. Quebec: International Centre for Research on Bilingualism.
- Knagg, J. (2013). EMI within a Global Context—Towards a British Council Perspective. London: British Council.
- Knapp, A. (2011). Using English as a lingua franca for (mis-)managing conflict in an international university context: An example from a course in engineering. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(4), 978-990.
- Krzyżanowski, M. and Wodak, R. (2011). Political strategies and language policies: The European Union Lisbon strategy and its implications for the EU's language and multilingualism policy. *Language Policy*, 10(2), 115-136.
- Kuteeva, M. and Airey, J. (2014). Disciplinary differences in the use of English in higher education: Reflections on recent policy developments. *Higher Education*, 67(5), 533-549.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press.
- Lasagabaster, D. (2015). Multilingual language policy: Is it becoming a misnomer at university level? In S. Dimova, A.K. Hultgren and C. Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 115-134.
- Lawton, R. (2008). *Language policy and ideology in the United States: A critical analysis of 'English only' discourse*. Paper presented at the Lancaster University Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics and Language Teaching, Lancaster University.
- Leclerc, J. (2016). L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde. Québec: CEFAN Université Laval. Retrieved 20 November 2013, from <http://www.axl.cefanelaval.ca>
- Levinson, B.A.U. and Sutton, M. (2001). Introduction: Policy as/in practice—a sociocultural approach to the study of educational policy. In M. Sutton and B.A.U. Levinson (eds.), *Policy as Practice: Toward a sociocultural analysis of educational policy*. London: Ablex. 1-22.
- Lévy-Leblond, J.-M. (1996). *La Pierre de touche: La science à l'épreuve*. Paris: Gallimard.

- Liddicoat, A.J. (2013). *Language-in-education Policies: The discursive construction of intercultural relations*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Linn, A., Bermel, N. and Ferguson, G. (eds.). (2015). *Attitudes Towards English in Europe: English in Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Little, D., Leung, C. and Van Avermaet, P. (eds.). (2014). *Managing Diversity in Education: Languages, policies, pedagogies*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Ljosland, R. (2010). English as an academic lingua franca: Language policies and multilingual practices in a Norwegian university. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43, 991-1004.
- Macaro, E. (2013). *Defining and Researching English Medium Instruction: The need for clear thinking and a clear research agenda*. London: British Council.
- Mann, S. (2011). A critical review of qualitative interviews in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, 32(1), 6-24.
- Mann, S. (2016). *The Research Interview: Reflexive practice and reflexivity in research processes*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mannheim, K. (1936). *Ideology and Utopia*. London: Routledge.
- Manyak, P.C. (2006). Fostering biliteracy in a monolingual milieu: Reflections on two counter-hegemonic English immersion classes. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, 6(3), 241-266.
- Marshall, J. (23 Oct 2007). France: University selection through high failure rate. *University World News*. Issue 3. Retrieved 6 July 2014, from <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20071025101608446>
- Martin-Jones, M. (1995). Code-switching in the classroom: Two decades of research. In L. Milroy and P. Muysken (eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: CUP. 90-112.
- May, S. (2001). *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. Harlow: Longman.
- May, S. (2017). Language, imperialism, and the modern nation-state system. In O. García, N. Flores and M. Spotti (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society*. Oxford: OUP. 35-53.
- McCambridge, L. and Saarinen, T. (2015). "I know that the natives must suffer every now and then": Native/non-native indexing language ideologies in Finnish higher education. In S. Dimova, A.K. Hultgren and C. Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 291-316.
- McCarty, T.L. (2011). *Ethnography and Language Policy*. New York: Routledge.
- Milroy, L. and Muysken, P. (eds.). (1995). *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Morrison, K. and Lui, I. (2000). Ideology, linguistic capital and the medium of instruction in Hong Kong. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 21(6), 471-486.

- Mortensen, J. and Haberland, H. (2012). English — the new Latin of academia? Danish universities as a case. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, (216), 175-197.
- Muntigl, P., Weiss, G. and Wodak, R. (eds.). (2000). *European Union Discourses on Un/employment: An interdisciplinary approach to employment policy-making and organizational change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Nikula, T., Dafouz E., Moore, P. and Smit, U. (eds.). (2016). *Conceptualising Integration in CLIL and Multilingual Education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Oakes, L. (2001). *Language and National Identity: Comparing France and Sweden*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Oberhuber, F. and Krzyżanowski, M. (2008). Ethnography and discourse analysis. In R. Wodak and M. Krzyżanowski (eds.), *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 182-203.
- O'Connell, A.M. and Chaplier, C. (2014). Quelle anglicisation des formations? *Les Langues Modernes*, 1, 26-34.
- Park, J.S-Y. and Wee, L. (2012). *Markets of English: Linguistic capital and language policy in a globalizing world*. New York: Routledge.
- Pelletier, B. (2010). “D’où vient le rayonnement de la France?”. Retrieved 21 May 2016, from <http://gestion-des-risques-interculturels.com/pays/europe/france/dou-vient-le-rayonnement-de-la-france/>
- Pennycook, A. (2000). English, politics, ideology: From colonial celebration to postcolonial performativity. In T. Ricento (ed.), *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: Focus on English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. 107-120.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: OUP.
- Phillipson, R. (2003). *English-only Europe?: Challenging language policy*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, R. (2009). *Linguistic Imperialism Continued*. New York: Routledge.
- Phillipson, R. (2015). English as threat or opportunity in European higher education. In S. Dimova, A.K. Hultgren and C. Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 19-42.
- Pulcini, V. and Campagna, S. (2015). Internationalization and the EMI controversy in Italian higher education. In S. Dimova, A. K. Hultgren and C. Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 65-87.
- Pulinx, R. and Van Avermaet, P. (2014). Linguistic diversity and education. Dynamic interactions between language education policies and teachers' beliefs. A qualitative study in secondary schools in Flanders (Belgium). *Revue française de linguistique appliquée*, 19(2), 9-27.
- Ramanathan, V. (2005). Rethinking language planning and policy from the ground up: Refashioning institutional realities and human lives. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 6(2), 89-101.

- Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (2001). The discourse-historical approach (DHA). In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies* (3rd ed.). London: Sage. 23-61.
- Ricento, T. (ed.). (2000). *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: Focus on English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Ricento, T. (ed.). (2006). *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and method*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Ricento, T. and Hornberger, N.H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 401-427.
- Richards, K. (2003). *Qualitative Inquiry in TESOL*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Rizvi, F. and Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing Education Policy*. London: Routledge.
- Roberts, C. (n.d.). Issues in transcribing spoken discourse. Retrieved 4 March 2015, from <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/departments/education/research/Research-Centres/ldc/knowledge-transfer/DATA/part1.pdf>
- Roberts, C. and Sarangi, S. (1999). Introduction: Revisiting different analytic frameworks. In S. Sarangi and C. Roberts (eds.), *Talk, Work, and Institutional Order: Discourse in medical, mediation and management settings*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 389-400.
- Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B.H. (1971). *Can Language be Planned?: Sociolinguistic theory and practice for developing nations*. Hawaii: University Press of Hawaii.
- Saarinén, T. and Nikula, T. (2012). Implicit policy, invisible language: Policies and practices of international degree programmes in Finnish Higher Education. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster and J.M. Sierra (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global challenges*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. 131-150.
- Santulli, F. (2015). English in Italian universities: The language policy of Polimi from theory to practice. In S. Dimova, A.K. Hultgren and C. Jensen (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 19-42.
- Sarangi, S. and Roberts, C. (eds.). (1999). *Talk, Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in medical, mediation and management settings*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Sauvy, A. (1963, Nov). Menaces sur la langue française. *La Revue de Paris*, 70, 37-47.
- Schiffman, H.F. (1996). *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*. London: Routledge.
- Scollon, R. (1996). Discourse identity, social identity, and confusion in intercultural communication. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 6, 1-16.
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language Policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. New York: Routledge.
- Sierens, S. and Van Avermaet, P. (2014). Language diversity in education: Evolving from multilingual education to functional multilingual learning. In D. Little, C. Leung and P. Van Avermaet (eds.), *Managing Diversity in Education: Languages, policies, pedagogies*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. 204-222.

- Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing Qualitative Research: A practical handbook*. London: Sage.
- Smit, U. and Dafouz, E. (eds.). (2012). *Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education: Gaining insights into English-medium instruction at European universities*. AILA Review, 25. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Söderlundh, H. (2012). Global policies and local norms: Sociolinguistic awareness and language choice at an international university. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 216, 87-109.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Spolsky, B. (ed.). (2012). *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Stake, R.E. (1981). The art of progressive focusing. In Proceedings of the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Los Angeles.
- Stake R.E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stake R.E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 443-466.
- Tadaki, M. (2013, June 1). How are we doing higher education internationalisation? *University World News*. Issue 274. Retrieved 2 February 2015, from www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=2013052818005080
- Tange, H. (2010). Caught in the Tower of Babel: University lecturers' experiences with internationalisation. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 10(2), 137-149.
- Teichler, U. (2009). Internationalisation of higher education: European experiences. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 10(1), 93-106.
- Tollefson, J.W. and Tsui, A.B.M. (2004). *Medium of Instruction Policies: Which agenda? Whose agenda?*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Truchot, C. (2010). L'enseignement supérieur en anglais véhiculaire: la qualité en question. *Diploweb*. Retrieved 11 November 2013, from <https://www.diploweb.com/L-enseignement-superieur-en.html>
- Truchot, C. (2013). Un enseignement en anglais dans les universités françaises? *Mémoires des luttés*. Retrieved 11 November, from <http://www.medelu.org/Un-enseignement-en-anglais-dans>
- UNESCO. (2013). Global flow in tertiary-level students. Retrieved 12 December 2014, from <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Pages/international-student-flow-viz.aspx>
- Universities UK. (2014). *International Students in Higher Education: The UK and its competition*. London: Universities UK.
- Unterberger, B. (2014). *English-medium degree programmes in Austrian tertiary business studies: Policies and programme design*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Austria, University of Vienna.
- Unterberger, B. and Wilhelmer, N. (2011). English-medium education in economics and business studies: Capturing the status quo at Austrian universities. *ITL* -

- Van Dijk T.A. (ed.). (1997). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Sage.
- Varghese, M. (2004). Professional development for bilingual teachers in the United States: A site for articulating and contesting professional roles. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7(2-3), 222-237.
- Vinke, A.A. (1995). *English as the medium of instruction in Dutch engineering education*. Doctoral dissertation. Delft: University Press.
- Wächter, B. and Maiworm, F. (eds.). (2008). English-taught programmes in European higher education: The picture in 2007. *ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education*. Bonn: Lemmens.
- Wächter, B. and Maiworm, F. (eds.). (2014). English-taught programmes in European higher education: The state of play in 2014. *ACA Papers on International Cooperation in Education*. Bonn: Lemmens.
- Walsh, O. (2015). Attitudes towards English in France. In A. Linn, N. Bermel and G. Ferguson (eds.), *Attitudes towards English in Europe: English in Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 27-54.
- Wilkinson, R. (2005). *The impact of language on teaching content: Views from the content teacher*. Paper presented at the Bi and Multilingual Universities—Challenges and Future Prospects Conference, Helsinki. Retrieved 9 August 2016, from <http://www.palmenia.helsinki.fi/congress/bilingual2005/presentations/wilkinson.pdf>
- Wilkinson, R. (2012). English-medium instruction at a Dutch university: Challenges and pitfalls. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster and J.M. Sierra (eds.), *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global challenges*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. 3-24.
- Wilkinson, R. and Walsh, M.L. (eds.). (2015). *Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education: From theory to practice*. Selected Papers from the 2013 ICLHE Conference. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Wilkinson, R. and Zegars, V. (eds.). (2007). *Researching Content and Language Integration in Higher Education*. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers Maastricht.
- Wodak, R. (2000). From Conflict to Consensus? The co-construction of a policy paper. In P. Muntigl, G. Weiss and R. Wodak (eds.), *European Union Discourses on Un/employment: An interdisciplinary approach to employment policy-making and organizational change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 73-114.
- Wodak, R. (2009). *The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as usual*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wodak, R. (2015). *The Politics of Fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean*. London: Sage.
- Wodak, R. and Fairclough, N. (2010). Recontextualizing European higher education policies: The cases of Austria and Romania. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 7(1), 19-40.

- Wodak, R. and Krzyżanowski, M. (eds.). (2008). *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (eds.). (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (2001). Critical discourse studies: History, agenda, theory and methodology. In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage. 1-22.
- Wodak, R. and Savski, K. (2017). Critical discourse-ethnographic approaches to language policy. In J.W. Tollefson and M. Pérez-Milans (eds.), *Handbook of Language Policy and Planning*. Oxford: OUP. Manuscript submitted for publication. Retrieved 17 July 2017, from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ruth_Wodak/publications?sorting=newest
- Wolcott, H.F. (1994). *Transforming Qualitative Data: Description, analysis, and interpretation*. London: Sage.
- Wolcott, H.F. (2008). *Ethnography: A way of seeing* (2nd ed.). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Wragg, E.C. (1999). *Introduction to Classroom Observation*. London: Routledge.
- Wright, S. (2006). French as a lingua franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 26, 35-60.
- Wright, S. (2009). The elephant in the room: Language issues in the European Union. *European Journal of Language Policy*, 1(2), 93-119.
- Yin, R.K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Policy documents

- Bas-Lauriol Law. (31 Dec 1975). Loi n°75-1349 Relative à l'emploi de la langue française. Retrieved 23 January 2014, from https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jo_pdf.do?id=JORFTEXT000000521788
- Bologna Declaration. (1999). Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education. The European Higher Education Area. Retrieved 17 October 2016, from https://media.ehea.info/file/Ministerial_conferences/02/8/1999_Bologna_Declaration_English_553028.pdf
- EHEA. (2012). Ministerial Conference: Bucharest 2012. Working Group “International Openness—The European Higher Education Area in a Global Context”: Draft final report 2009-2012. Retrieved 20 December 2016, from https://media.ehea.info/file/2012_Bucharest/85/8/IO_WG_Final_Report_605858.pdf
- European Commission. (2017). What is Horizon 2020? Retrieved 17 December 2016, from <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/what-horizon-2020>

- European Parliament. (2000). Lisbon Agenda. Lisbon European Council 23 and 24 March 2000: Presidency conclusions: Retrieved 13 October 2016, from European Parliament: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm
- Fioraso Law. (22 July 2013). Loi n°2013-660 relative à l'enseignement supérieur et à la recherche. Retrieved 30 February 2014, from <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000027735009>
- Ministry of Higher Education and Research. (2010). Investissement d'avenir: présentation des actions. Retrieved 12 Feb 2017, from <http://www.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/cid51351/initiatives-d-excellence.html>
- Ministry of Higher Education and Research. (17 Dec 2012). Assises de l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche: rapport au Président de la République. Paris: Présidence de la République. Retrieved 1 March 2014, from https://cache.media.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/file/Assises_esr/24/0/Assises-ESR-Rapport-Vincent-Berger-_237240.pdf
- Ministry of Higher Education and Research. (13 Feb 2013). Exposé des motifs. Retrieved 30 February 2014, from http://cache.media.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/file/Loi_ESR_2013/07/9/expose-motifs-loi-esr_245079.pdf
- National Assembly. (14 Jan 2013). Refonder l'université, dynamiser la recherche: mieux coopérer pour réussir. Rapport au Premier Ministre. Retrieved 15 May 2015, from http://cache.media.enseignementsup-recherche.gouv.fr/file/Assises_esr/69/2/Rapport_JYLD_vf_238692.pdf
- National Assembly. (19 Mar 2013). Projet de loi relatif à l'enseignement supérieur et à la recherche: étude d'impact. Retrieved 29 January 2015, from <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/14/projets/pl0835-ei.asp>
- National Assembly. (16 May 2013). Rapport fait au nom de la commission des affaires culturelles et de l'éducation sur le projet de loi relatif à l'enseignement supérieur et à la recherche. Retrieved 1 March 2014, from <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/14/rapports/r1042.asp>
- Prague Communiqué. (2001). Towards the European Higher Education Area: Communiqué of the meeting of the European Ministers in charge of Higher Education. Retrieved 17 October 2016, from https://media.ehea.info/file/2001_Prague/44/2/2001_Prague_Communique_English_553442.pdf
- Senate. (12 June 2013). Rapport n° 659 fait au nom de la commission de la culture, de l'éducation et de la communication relatif à l'enseignement et à la recherche. Retrieved 5 August 2015, from <http://www.senat.fr/rap/112-659/112-659.html>
- Sorbonne Declaration. (1998). Sorbonne Joint Declaration: Joint declaration on harmonisation of the architecture of the European higher education system. Paris. Retrieved 17 October 2016, from https://media.ehea.info/file/1998_Sorbonne/61/2/1998_Sorbonne_Declaration_English_552612.pdf
- Toubon Law. (4 Aug 1994). Loi n°94-665 Relative à l'emploi de langue française. Retrieved 5 August 2015, from <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000005616341>
- Université Joseph Fourier. (2012). 2007-2012 : Cinq années d'actions pour une grande ambition. Retrieved 12 Dec 2013, from https://issuu.com/universite_joseph_fourier/docs/ujf2007_2012

Université Joseph Fourier. (2014). Grenoble: plans for the future in research and education. Retrieved 31 July 2014, from https://issuu.com/universite_joseph_fourier/docs/projet_av_ujf_va_012014